

M. L.

Gc
929.2
C8594a
1803507

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01236 4102

THE HISTORY OF A BEDFORDSHIRE FAMILY

*Being a History of the Crawleys of Nether
Crawley, Stockwood, Thurleigh, and Yelden
in the County of Bedford*

BY

WILLIAM AUSTIN

AUTHOR OF

"THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY IN LUTON," ETC.



LONDON: ALSTON RIVERS, LTD.
BROOKE STREET, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.

1911

1803507

**THE HISTORY OF A
BEDFORDSHIRE FAMILY**

1803207

THE HISTORY OF A
BEDFORDSHIRE FAMILY



From the London State

Sir Francis Crawley, Kt.
1581-1619.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Family estates and their founders—The free tenants of manors, the yeomen of England—Origin of family names—Edward I. encouraged the adoption of surnames—The name of Crawley, a place-name in Luton—Crawley Green and Nether Crawley—Baldwin de Bethune lord of the manor of Luton—Dispute with the Abbot of St Albans, owner of the church manor of Dallow—The Abbot claims lands at Crawley—Baldwin's deed of confirmation of the rights of the Abbot—The situation of the lands claimed by the Abbot—Tin-pot Inn and Close—Crawleys of Husborne-Crawley 1-18

CHAPTER II

The Crawley pedigrees—The Stockwood pedigree, the Rev. H. H. Crawley's and Mr Crawley-Boevey's—The Crawley Papers—The Rolls of "Dallow Manor" 1455, 1457—The derivation of the name "Dallow"—Explanation of terms used in the Rolls—Hundreds and tythings, Saxon institutions—The "common fine"—"Blodwit"—"Assize of bread and ale"—"Regraters"—Fishing in "Bury Mille Ponde"—John Crawley fined for re-selling sheep in Luton Market—Four Crawleys owners of lands in the manor of Dallow—William, John, Robert, and Thomas Crawley 19-42

CHAPTER III

A pedigree of the Crawley family compiled from the Crawley papers, proving five generations of Crawleys earlier than the Stockwood pedigree—William Crawley and Alice Attewelle — William Crawley their son — His plea in Chancery, 1466—Thomas Rotherham Lord Chancellor—Thomas Crawley, No. 3 in the pedigree—His will, 1511, and his son John Crawley's will, 1519—First mention of Nether Crawley, Haverings Holy, etc.—Richard Crawley (No. 5) leaves "Plenties Manor" to his eldest son, William, who sells it and vouches his title for four generations, proving the above-mentioned pedigree — The Register of the Fraternity of the Guild of the Holy Trinity—William Crawley (No. 2), Warden of the Guild —Thomas Crawley (No. 3), Master of the Guild—Thomas Crawley's will, 1511—Gifts to Luton Church value £500 —Mention of Nether Crawley, Chiltern Green, Dane Street, Wystock—The situation of these properties—The witnesses to Thomas Crawley's will — Will of John Crawley (No. 4), 1519, probate 1545—Tithes of Luton and Chaul End—Edward Crawley, churchwarden of Luton—Will dated 1544, proved 1545—Inquiry as to church property sold by Edward Crawley—A "pax" and a "pix" 43-72

CHAPTER IV

Richard Crawley, No. 5—The "yeoman's" lack of political initiative—The Crawleys' political inactivity until the reign of Charles I.—Richard Crawley joined the "Guild," 1521—Will dated 1511, but not proved till 1578—Properties passing to an heir-at-law not usually mentioned in wills of the period—His eldest son, William Crawley, owned Plenties, Chiltern Green, Dane Street, Haverings Holy, and the lease of tithes of Luton and Chaul End—

Purchases manor of "Greathampstead and Aydens"—The devolution of this property, renamed Faulkner's Hall—House built 1612, and pulled down about 1820—Old buildings at Eaton Green—Ponds there and at other places in Stopsley—Difficulty of effectually "puddling" local clay—Faulkner's Hall passed to Sir Francis Crawley about 1647, and the farm now part of "Eaton Green"—William Crawley sells "Plenties," 1568—Description of "Plenties" and its devolution and repurchase—The prejudice of the Crawleys against feudal rights—Purchase of "Bradways"—Cowridge End bought of Thomas Ramridge—Description of Cowridge End farms on the north and south sides of the lane—Eight Crawleys owning lands in Luton in 1582—Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane, brother of the above-named Richard, a maltster, ancestor of the Crawley-Boevey family—His will, 1581 . 73-99

CHAPTER V

John Crawley (No. 6), second son of Richard Crawley, purchases "Haverings Manor," 1568—Doubtful if the family lived there—Description of Haverings—Its history—Rent roll of the manor, 1544—Moiety of Stopsley manor—Thomas Crawley, son of John Crawley, purchases the manor of "Dallow"—History of this manor, Morcar the Saxon priest, William the Chamberlain—Description of the manor in the Domesday Survey; lands in the tithe apportionment shown to be in this manor; lands at Battlesden, Potsgrove and Hartwell, also belonging to Luton Church, St Anne's Chapel, and The Towers at Luton—Henry I. gives Luton to his son Robert, Earl of Gloucester—Efforts made to dispossess William Chamberlain—In reign of Henry II. the church of Luton and the church manor vested in the Abbots of St Albans, who named it "The Dallow"—Remained Abbey property till the dissolution in 1539—Sold to Sir

Thomas Barnardiston, whose son in 1586 sold it to Thomas Crawley—Subsequent devolution through the Hales, and repurchase by the Crawleys—John Crawley purchases the farms known as Lammers and Ramridge End—Lammers part of the endowment of the Guild of the Holy Trinity—Account of the foundation of the Guild—Deed of trust, 1476, relating to this property—After the dissolution the property purchased by the “Burrs,” who were related to the Ramridge family—Ramridge End farm—Sundry deeds further assuring these properties to the Crawleys—Death of John Crawley, 1598, the head of the Stockwood pedigree—Marriage of his son, Thomas Crawley, to Miss Dorothy Edgerley, 1575—His father settles on him the manor of Haverings 100-134

CHAPTER VI

Trouble with John Crawley's widow—Her plea in Chancery—Thomas Crawley's answer—Alice Crawley releases certain lands, “Pondwick's meadows,” etc., from her dower—Thomas Crawley, residing at “The Dallow” at the time of his father's death, moves to Nether Crawley—His son Francis, born 6th April 1584—Entered a student at Staple Inn and Gray's Inn—Thomas Crawley purchases of Sir John Rotherham the “Court House” and lands near Luton Church, lands near Chiltern Green, land in Blackwater Lane, and also pasture land “Edon Green” (Eaton Green), which is conveyed as part of the manor of Haverings—Town injured by pulling down of “fayre houses” and erecting cottages—Sir Robert Napier and Francis Crawley complain to the Council—Conveyance of a messuage and 33 acres of land at Crawley Green—The marriage of Francis Crawley with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Rotherham—He is made a “serjeant-at-law” 135-156

CHAPTER VII

Thomas Crawley purchases "Somerles"—History of Somerles
 —The Crawleys reside there—Rooms in Somerles Castle
 —Davis's mistake about Somerles—Death of Thomas
 Crawley, who was the first of the Crawleys buried in
 Somerles Chapel—Francis Crawley made a judge and
 knighted, 1632—Ship-money—The opinion of the judges
 —The Long Parliament, 1640—They interrogate the judges
 as to their advice on ship-money—The Houses decide to
 impeach five of the judges, including Sir Francis Crawley—
 Answer of Sir Francis, 1641—The poet Waller—Levy on
 serjeants and judges, towards the King's expenses to
 Scotland—New Year's Day, 1643, Sir Francis summoned
 to join the King at Oxford—Continued there till 1646,
 when the city surrendered to General Fairfax—Sir
 Francis' estate sequestrated—Troops quartered at
 Somerles on Lady Crawley—Sir Francis compounds for
 his estates on Oxford terms—His clerk, Reuben Browne
 —John Crawley of Faulkner's Hall—Death of King
 Charles and of Sir Francis, 1649 . . . 157-192

CHAPTER VIII

The children of Sir Francis Crawley—Francis, his son and
 heir, baptized 7th November 1619—Called to the Bar,
 1638—Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, 1679—Intruded
 ministers at Luton Church—Rev. Samuel Austin, 1644-
 1645—The Rev. Thomas Rotherham—Mr Carey—Mr
 Jessop, 1650—Death of Lady Crawley—Scene at her
 burial in Luton Church, 1658—Complaint of Mr Jessop
 to the Council—Death of Oliver Cromwell—The work of
 the Puritans on Luton Church—The Rev. Thomas
 Crawley made Rector of Barton, 1660—Letter from Mr
 R. Browne to Mr F. Crawley—Marriage of Francis
 Crawley to Miss Clutterbuck—Death of Francis Crawley,

1682—His children—John Crawley, his son and heir—Succeeded by Richard Crawley—Richard Crawley made Registrar of the Admiralty, 1698—Married Sarah, daughter of Sir Samuel Dashwood, 1699—Resided at Northaw—Purchases house and lands at Stockwood and Farley of the Rotherham family, 1708—History of these properties—Manor of Plenties, 1709—Died 1712—His will 193-225

CHAPTER IX

John Crawley, eldest son of Richard Crawley, a minor—Sold Someries to Sir Robert Napier in 1724, and purchased lands at Limbury and Biscot—History of the manor of Biscot from the time of King Offa—Description of the Moat House—Erroneously called a nunnery—Castle of Robert FitzWalter in the reign of King John—John Crawley takes Rothampstead Park, Harpenden, as a residence—Purchase of another small farm at Cowridge End, 1728—The building of "Stockwood," 1740—Marriage with Susannah, daughter of Sir Samuel Vanacker Sambrooke, 1740—Account of the Sambrooke family—Purchase of further lands at Farley—Diversion of the road at the Woodside end of Stockwood Park—John Crawley, M.P. for Marlborough—High Sheriff—Repurchase of part of "Greathampstead," now "Eaton Green"—Purchase of remaining portions of Biscot, 1754—Further purchases at Cowridge End and Round Green—His brother, Samuel Crawley, British Consul at Smyrna, dies, 1762—Death of John Crawley, 1767—His sister married to Thomas Halsey 226-249

CHAPTER X

John Crawley of "Stockwood," born 1743—In 1769 succeeded to the whole of Sambrooke property in North Bedfordshire—Death and Will of Miss Sarah Crawley—

Family portraits—Exchange of lands at Cowridge End with Dunstable Charity—Marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Dr James Hawley—Exchange of lands with the Rev. Richard Eaton—Further purchase at Cowridge End—High Sheriff in 1774—William Hampson, under-sheriff—Parliamentary election for Bedfordshire, 1774—Exchanges between John, Earl of Bute, and Mr Crawley, 1781—Exchanges of land with John Hay, 1787—Also with Mrs Martha Morris, 1789—Exchange of lands with Sir John Filmer—Marriage of Samuel Crawley of Ragnall Hall to Miss Eliza Rankin, 1788—Exchange with Ashton's Trustees in 1802—Election for Bedfordshire, May 1807—Marquis of Bute entertains Luton freeholders, August 1807—Enclosure of Luton Lammas Lands, 1808—Death of John Crawley, 1815—The last of the Crawleys buried in Luton Church 250-265

CHAPTER XI

Samuel Crawley of Ragnall Hall and Stockwood—Born 1790—Twice married, 1817 and 1822—High Sheriff, 1817—Death of Princess Charlotte—Diversion of path in Stockwood Park, 1817—M.P. for Honiton, 1818, 1820-26—Purchase of Inions Farm, 1822—Diversion of another footpath in Stockwood, 1826—After the passing of the Reform Bill, 1832—Mr Crawley a candidate for Bedfordshire—His withdrawal, and his return as M.P. for borough of Bedford, 1832, 1835—Defeated in 1837—Purchase of part of Chalk Farm, 1839—Lands at Stockwood, 1839—Death in 1852—John Sambrook Crawley, born 1823—Purchase of "Funnell's Farm," 1853, of Thomas Waller's widow—The Wallers of Luton—Purchase of Dallow Farm and the Bury Farm, 1858—The Dallow Brook—Purchase of two fields in Maiden Common, 1867—Gravel-pits in New Bedford road, 1868—End of the history of the Crawley properties—Marriage

xii A Bedfordshire Family

of J. S. Crawley, 1852—His death in 1895—His benefactions and public services—Succeeded by his eldest son, Francis Crawley 266-294

CHAPTER XII

1. The Crawley pedigree—2. Descendants of Samuel Crawley, Consul at Smyrna—3. Pedigree of the Crawley-Boevey family 295-300

CHAPTER XIII

An account of the Crawley-Boevey family taken from the narrative pedigree, Appendix XIII., Part IV., to Mr Crawley Boevey's *Memorials of the Boevey Family* and from other sources 301-319

INDEX 321-326

THE HISTORY OF A BEDFORDSHIRE FAMILY

CHAPTER I

Of the Name and Situation of Crawley, the Early Home
of the Crawley Family.

THERE is nothing which appeals more to the imagination, the ambition, and the passions of mankind than the acquisition and possession of property: the despotic right to hold that which we have gained, and to hold it in absolute exclusion of the right of any other individual. Yet the law-student will tell us that we cannot have any such absolute ownership of even a single acre of land; that we can hold nothing more than an estate or interest in it, and even that limited right may be determined by death or by forfeiture. Every acre of land in this realm belongs to the King, and under certain circumstances may at any moment revert to the source from

2 A Bedfordshire Family

whence it came. Seeing, then, that at the root of our English law there lies the principle that the so-called owner can only possess an estate or interest in the land, it becomes an interesting inquiry when and how the holder succeeded in attaching to that limited estate the right to alienate, to exchange, and to devise it, without the permission of the Crown and in derogation of the theory of the absolute ownership of the State. Rooted as is the love of the possession of property in man, few give themselves the trouble to consider either the foundation of the right of property or the growth to the right of ownership out of the simple right of user or occupation.

It is also interesting to trace to its beginning the landed wealth of any family with which we are acquainted. Did the land come to them by the most coveted of all titles, a Royal grant? Did the previous owner lose his right to it by attainder or forfeiture? Was it part of the possessions of a great religious house despoiled in the reign of Henry VIII., and re-granted by the King as a matter of favour or for a valuable consideration? Were the ancestors of our neigh-

bour warriors who fought for king and country, and merited the rich estate they transmitted to their posterity? Or was his ancestor some wise statesman whose policy guided the State through tempestuous times and who earned the just reward of honest service? Or, again, was he some famous lawyer, who, too busy to spend the moneys he earned, wisely invested his capital in the purchase of lands and houses? It may be, however, that our neighbour's stately mansion and wide-spreading lands were purchased by gains in trade, industry, or commerce; the records of many such cases may be read in our county histories, such, for instance, as Chauncey's *History of Hertfordshire*. If we follow in that learned work the devolution of the first score of the hundreds of estates described in that county, we shall find that in the reign of Henry VI. the merchant and trading class were largely investing their wealth in the purchase of landed estates, and that between the beginning of that king's reign and the close of Henry VIII.'s no less than eight of those twenty manors passed, by purchase, into the hands of wealthy traders. There remains, however,

4 A Bedfordshire Family

another class amongst the founders of families—a class very numerous from pre-Conquest days down to the end of the seventeenth century—the small freeholders or yeomen of England. In order that we may arrive at some idea of the status and numerical strength of this class, we must study the Domesday Survey of William the Conqueror and the manorial system of the Middle Ages.

If we try to picture to ourselves the home and the possessions of the “baron or squire or knight of the shire” of feudal times, we shall be wrong if we think that we see any resemblance to them in the estates of the lord and the squire of modern days. There were no comfortable mansions standing within enclosed parks, such as in modern times inspired the poet to write of “the stately homes of England.” The mansion of the feudal baron was a formidable, frowning, battlemented fortress, with not a single window presented to the outside view—a building surrounded by a broad ditch, usually filled with foul and filthy stagnant water; there were no green lawns and flowering gardens, and no beautiful park of well-chosen ornamental timber.

The farm-homestead of those days, too, was very different from the modern farmhouse with which we are familiar; no farmhouse was surrounded by the lands cultivated by the occupier, but all such houses, with their out-buildings, stood in the streets of the village or town, while the lands, not merely those of each farmer but those also of the lord, lay scattered in acre strips throughout the open common fields around the village or town,—scattered apparently without any other order and reason than to ensure that no two acre strips farmed by the same person should lie contiguous to one another.

Let us look at the parish or manor of Luton, in which we live, and endeavour to see the freeholders or yeomen of Luton in feudal times. Luton was a large manor, the largest in Bedfordshire, and it was exceptional, as compared with most manors in the county, in that it had formed part of the private property of Kings of England for certainly five hundred years before the Norman Conquest, and probably of British princes for centuries before the Saxon conquests. The extent of the parish is 15,878 acres,

6 A Bedfordshire Family

including roads and waste, and the manor is conterminous with the old parish of Luton—that is to say, the township of Luton with the hamlets of Leagrave, Limbury-cum-Biscot, Stopsley, and the Hydes. At the time of the Domesday Survey there were three manors within the parish, namely, the “manor of Biscot,” the manor of the Church lands, afterwards known as the “manor of Dallow,” and the “manor of Luton.” Within the three manors there was “land for 93 ploughs”; the extent of a ploughland is variously estimated, but 120 acres is commonly accepted, which gives us 11,160 acres under cultivation, leaving 4718 acres for roads, woods, water, and waste. Of these 93 ploughlands only 7 were in demense—that is to say under cultivation by the lords of the three manors; the remaining 86 were in the hands of the tenants.

In the three manors of which we are writing there were 101 villeins, 51 bordars, and 6 serfs, or slaves, and it is curious to find that the whole of the before-mentioned 86 ploughlands were held and cultivated by the villeins. The 51 bordars had no lands; they were subject to considerable services exacted in respect of the

tenements they occupied, but in other respects were free to let themselves out for hire to the villeins. The slaves belonging to the manors of Biscot and Dallow were housed and fed by the lords of those manors; but in the manor of Luton, which belonged to the King, there were no slaves. The villeins were liable to render to the lord of the manor certain services, which made their position in some degree "un-free," but, subject to those services, they were the owners of the lands they held, and, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, could do with their lands as they pleased. They were the progenitors of the yeomen of Luton, and at the time of the Survey were a substantial class of men. Each of the 101 villeins owned on an average 118 acres of land, if our ratio of 120 acres to each plough be correct. We doubt if it would be possible at the present time to find anywhere within the limits of the ancient parish of Luton a solitary individual in the position of owning and cultivating 118 acres of land; the yeomen of Luton as a class are as extinct as the dodo.

It was from the yeomen of Luton that the

8 A Bedfordshire Family

family of the Crawleys of Crawley sprang, and, in the time of Henry VIII., so far increased their possessions as to take rank among the landed gentry of Bedfordshire. It is the only family in Luton of which it can be said that they own lands to-day which their forefathers transmitted from father to son, certainly from the end of the fourteenth century, and in all probability from a much earlier date.

The origin and derivation of family names is often curious and is generally interesting. The derivations of such names in England may be divided into the following groups: from Saxon, Danish, Norman, French, and Flemish settlers; from parents' baptismal names; from calling or occupation; from personal characteristics; from place of birth; and, lastly, from the possession of lands. As in process of time the right to transmit property from father to son became recognised by law, and the registration in the manor roll of all alienations and devolutions of property held in the open-common fields became general—and, moreover, as the vendor of land was usually required to vouch his title for at least three generations—it is obvious that

the need for designations more distinctive than "William, the son of William," became a matter of necessity ; but it was not until the reign of Edward I. that the adoption of surnames was encouraged. King Edward directed that people might take as a name the town or place of their birth, and, as an example, princes of the blood were so called ; hence we had Henry of Monmouth, John of Gaunt, and others. Fashion was a no less potent factor in social life then than now, and from that time the adoption of surnames derived from places of birth and from the names of estates became general. Another illustration of the surname derived from the place of birth is the family of Rotherham. The first Rotherham of Luton was a brother of one of the greatest of our Lord Chancellors, Archbishop Rotherham, who adopted the name of Rotherham from Rotherham in Yorkshire, in which place he was born and owned property. The Crawley family followed the fashion, and took their surname from the place of their birth and the property they owned at "Crawley" in Luton.

"Crawley," when we first meet with it at

Luton, was written "Craulea," and is compounded of two words—"Crau," signifying a hill or crag, and "lea" or "ley," an open clearing in a wood for the pasture of cattle (see Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places*). In all the earliest references to the lands round Crawley Green the place is called "Craulea," later Crawley, and in the sixteenth century "Crawley Green" and "Nether Crawley." The derivation above mentioned seems to us rightly to describe the place. Crawley Green stands on a hill. In 1196 it certainly adjoined a wood which covered the upper part of Hart Hill, while on the other side was Spittlesea Wood; and notwithstanding the fact that it is on a hill, it is, to this day, excellent pasture.

At the present time "Crawley Green" and "Nether Crawley" are the names of farms belonging to the Crawley family, but from early deeds and documents we have clear proof that they were the names of places and not of mere properties. The map of Hertfordshire in Camden's *Britannia*, a work first published in the year 1586, shows both places marked as villages within Bedfordshire; and in Court Rolls

of the years 1455-1457 we find the place spelt “Crawele” and “Crawley,” and repeatedly referred to as indicating a community of persons and not a mere farm. The reference to “the tenants at Crawley” seems to us to bear no other construction. Among the records relating to St Albans Abbey it is stated that the Abbey had sixteen tenants at Crawley in Luton in the reign of Henry VI.

We have, however, a much earlier record of the existence of Crawley as a place, in a deed of the reign of Richard I., about the year 1196. As this deed is a curious and interesting piece of local history, we give some account of the circumstances that led to its execution and the disputes it purported to settle.

In the reign of Richard I. the manor of Luton was in the possession of the Crown. Richard was in the Holy Land, and among his followers was one Baldwin de Bethune. When Richard determined to return to England, Baldwin accompanied him on his adventurous journey through Europe. An attendant was sent to Goritz to obtain a pass, ostensibly for Baldwin, but really for the King of England. Unfortunately,

the present, a ruby, was so large that suspicion was aroused; the King fled, but was eventually seized and handed over to his enemy, the King of France. Much romance has been written on the subject of the King's adventures and imprisonment, including the celebrated incident of the minstrel Blondel, which, though excellent reading, is now declared to be pure imagination. Baldwin was allowed to proceed to England, and after the terms of the King's ransom had been arranged, he returned to France and was detained as one of the hostages for its payment. For these and other services the King gave him in marriage Haweis, Countess of Albemarle, and amongst other estates then granted to him by the King he received the manor of Luton. On taking possession of his manor, he was met by a claim of the Abbot of St Albans to the following lands and rights within the manor of Luton:—

1. To certain land near the river Lea known as the Abbot's Pool, near the church.
2. The right of fishing from the Abbot's mill up to the north bridge.
3. To one day of the annual fair held at the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which

- lasted a whole week, and to certain stalls in Luton Market.
4. To the cultivated lands at Wyngheard, to the arable lands at Waltun and *Craulea* ; and
 5. To the wood or copse as far as the road of the copse of "Curegge" (Cowridge End).

Baldwin called together the men of his manor, held an inquisition on the Abbot's claims, and came to the conclusion that the above-mentioned claims were good ; he thereupon executed a deed confirming the Abbot in his rights. The following is a translation we have had made of the deed, as it appears in the "Chronicles and Memorials," No. 28 (1872), *Registrum Abbatie Johannis Whethamstede*, vol. i. p. 421 :—

Note concerning a Fair held at Luton.

Baldwin de Betune, Earl of Aubemarle, to all the faithful, as well present as future, greeting. Be it known unto you that there was a controversy between me and John, Abbot of Saint Albans, concerning the fair of Luton which is held at the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, and concerning the stalls which the Abbot's men had in the market, and the liberties which they had, and the cultivated lands of Wyngheard, and the land of Waltun, and the land at Craulea, and the wood as far as the way of the wood

of Curegge, and the Abbot's mill-pond, and the fishery from the mill as far as the north bridge. I, however, have ascertained by my men and by the neighbours that the aforesaid fair ought to be the Abbot's on whatsoever day the feast of the Assumption shall fall, except the sale of gold, and of horses, and of tanned hides, and of men who of old were sold; and that he ought to have so many stalls, and two chests and one shop in the market; and that the Abbot's men ought to have the liberties which they had in the time when the manor was the King's. These, therefore, and all things aforesaid, I grant to the Abbot and his men to possess freely and quietly, with the feedings, and issues, and free customs, and with all their liberties, as well, as freely, and as quietly as they ever held them. And if perchance the market shall be removed to another place, or in anywise changed, I will assign to them just so many stalls in convenient places. Witness these:

Walter de Haseltun,	Nicholas Despencer,
Ralph de Ho,	John de Wilcestre,
Walter de Luton,	Philip de Sissevern,
Fulk de la Hyde,	John, son of Gilbert de
William de Sissevern,	la Hide,
Laurence de Thebregge,	Walter Bacun,
Master Alban,	William de Walmunt,
Master Roger de Luton,	with many others.
Master Roger de Eles-	
wurde,	

The fair above mentioned lasted a whole week ; but we are not here concerned with the contents of the deed as part of the history of Luton, but as evidence of the existence of a place at Luton of the name of "Craulea." The deed is not dated, but from internal and external evidences we may assume it to have been executed about the year 1196. The question we have to determine is the situation of the "lands at Crawley" mentioned in the deed. There are at least three distinctive marks indicated in Earl Baldwin's deed by which we should be able to identify the situation of Crawley—first, by the name ; second, the proximity of a wood stretching as far as the way by the wood at Cowridge End ; and third, that the land was Abbey land.

The situation of Crawley Green is at the top of the hill on the road leading from Luton to Cockernhoe. Crawley Green and St Ann's Hill lie to the right or south-east of the road, and Hart Hill to the left. The lands on St Ann's Hill, from the present vicarage up to Crawley Green farmhouse, are numbered on the tithe map from 903 to 920 inclusive, totalling to 53 acres 2 roods and 12 poles, exclusive of No.

908, which was part of the waste, but has been enclosed since 1844. One of these pieces of land, namely No. 920, is in the tithe apportionment styled "Crawley Green Close." Of these $53\frac{1}{2}$ acres, $43\frac{1}{2}$ are free of impropriate tithes, as Abbey lands should be. The wood "as far as the way of the wood of Curegge" (Cowridge End) could only refer to the land stretching from Crawley Green along the top of Hart Hill to Round Green, where we find ourselves on the Hitchin road, "the way of the wood of Cowridge End." The wood between Crawley Green and Cowridge End was the one mentioned in the Domesday Survey as belonging to the Abbey and providing pannage for fifty swine. It is therefore clear that at Crawley Green we find the three characteristics indicated by Baldwin's deed. In our next chapter we shall quote from the before-mentioned Rolls of the Manor of Dallow evidence clearly proving that in the year 1455 the old Abbey manor of Dallow included considerable lands at Crawley, and we shall also find that the Abbots had continued in the possession of those same lands till the dissolution of the monastery in the reign of Henry VIII.

If we continue along the road to Cockernhoe we shall come to "Nether Crawley," lying at the foot of the hill beyond Crawley Green. The word "Nether" signifies "lower," and Nether Crawley was obviously so named to distinguish it from Crawley on the top of the hill. At Nether Crawley we find ourselves surrounded on all sides by Crawley property—Crawley Green, Eaton Green, Faulkner's Hall, Wigmore Hall, Haverings, Lammers, the Lane Farm or Manor of Plenties, Cowridge End, Ramridge End, and back again to Nether Crawley, the earliest home of the Crawley family.

At Crawley Green there is a close called "Tin-pot Close" (Abbey land), and upon the green stood an inn, known by the sign of the "Tin-pot." Many years ago this place was the resort of the "sporting element" amongst the people of Luton, who favoured the barbarous sport of bull-baiting and horse-baiting, common forms of amusement as early as the reign of Henry II., and indulged in as late as the reign of Queen Anne. Davis, writing in 1855, says there was then visible the place enclosed for these so-called sports. There is still standing at

18 A Bedfordshire Family

Crawley Green an old house which is probably the old "Tin-pot" Inn. About fifty years ago it was a farmhouse occupied by a Mr Ainsworth, who later moved to New Mill End Mill, and the land at Crawley Green which had been in his occupation was added to Crawley Green farm. There are two cottages for labourers still standing, but all the old cottages which formed the ancient village of Crawley have long since been pulled down.

There is another place in Bedfordshire called Crawley, better known under the combined names of Husborne-Crawley. In Domesday Book they appear as two separate manors. In 1274 there was a family of Crawleys living there, who were small proprietors, and one, William de Crawley, was a priest there. They were in no way connected with the Crawleys of Nether Crawley.

In 1289 (Harleian Charter 112 A 5, British Museum) we find a William Cral owner of land in Westhide, Luton, who may have been an ancestor of the Crawleys of Luton.

CHAPTER II

The Beginning of the Crawley Pedigree—The Court Rolls of Dallow Manor.

THE pedigree of the Crawley family in the possession of Francis Crawley, Esq., the present head of the family, is an honest piece of work, and in that respect compares very favourably with a number of such productions. The public registers at Luton Church commence with the year 1603. The compiler of the Crawley pedigree has not gone further back than a member of the family who died in the year 1597, so that it is possible to verify all subsequent entries on the genealogical tree by reference to public registers. There is a more ample pedigree of the family by the Rev. H. H. Crawley, the Rector of Stowe-nine-Churches, at Weedon in Northamptonshire, published in *Beds Notes and Queries*, vol. ii.,

3. edited by F. A. Page-Turner, Esq.; and another pedigree may be found in Mr Crawley-Boevey's interesting book, entitled *The Perverse Widow; or, Memorials of the Crawley-Boevey Family*. Mr H. H. Crawley carries the pedigree back to a John Crawley, whose will is dated in the year 1511, and who died about 1545. From records to which we shall presently call attention we have been able to add three earlier generations, reaching back to the year 1400, and probably a little earlier than that. If we had before us the early Rolls of the Manor of Dallow, or the seventy-eight volumes of the Rolls of the Manor of Luton which are missing, we might perhaps have found still earlier records of the family.

The pedigree at Stockwood begins with the following entry:—

John Crawley of Nether Crawley, Lord of the Manor of Haverings and other lands in the parish of Luton in the county of Bedford, lyeth buried in the parish church of Luton; he was father of Thomas Crawley of Nether Crawley, who was owner of the said lands and of many other lands; the said Thomas married Dorothy, daughter and co-heir of John Edgerley of Milton in the county of Oxford, Gentle-

man, son of Robert Edgerley of Milton aforesaid, Gentleman. The said Thomas Crawley was buried in Someries Chapel at Luton; he was father of Sir Francis Crawley, Knt., one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, who was seised of the lands aforesaid, and also, by purchase, Lord of Somerys Place in the parish of Luton, which joyneth the said ancient inheritance of the Crawleys.

Since the Stockwood genealogical tree was compiled, a truly remarkable hoard of ancient family deeds, documents, and papers has come to light, which had been buried for generations in the strong-rooms of solicitors in Lincoln's Inn. A recent change in the family's solicitors led to the transfer of these deeds and records. All the papers of any importance, to the number of 1084, dating from the year 1390 to 1800, were placed by Mr Francis Crawley in the hands of Messrs Hardy & Page, of No. 15 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, by whom they have been arranged and catalogued. The result is two volumes containing, in chronological sequence, a brief abstract of each document. As every record is numbered, it is easy to find and refer to the originals. From this mine of information anyone having the inclination and

22 A Bedfordshire Family

sufficient leisure for the purpose, may cull facts and material for much of the history of one of the most interesting parishes in this part of the country. To attempt such a work has been the hope of the present writer for many years, and to that end he has accumulated a mass of notes and references; but a busy professional life has hitherto precluded him from carrying so great an undertaking into execution. His notes on the manors and properties belonging to the Crawley family, and the convenient records of the transactions of the family to be found in the family papers above referred to, suggested that a useful and not uninteresting chapter, or instalment, of such a work might be compiled in the more modest form of a history of the Crawley family. We have the authority of Lord Rosebery for the statement that the property, if not the existence, of the landowners of England as a class is threatened by modern politicians, and that our colonists, on some not very distant visit to the old country, may look in vain for traces of the stately homes and green parks which now add so much beauty to English scenery. If further excuse were needed for such

a work, it seemed to the writer that the history of the Crawley family was a singularly clean one, a consistent and honourable record of successive generations of men honestly endeavouring to do their duty in the station of life to which they had been called; and that, in these days, when the methods by which great landed estates have been acquired and accumulated are called in question, it might be useful to show in the present case, at any rate, that such acquisition may bear the closest investigation, and prove, perhaps, that the purchase of real property is as honest an ambition as the accumulation of wealth by other means than the improvement of landed property and the investment of surplus income in the same direction.

The earliest document amongst the Crawley papers recording the possession by the family of lands in Luton is the portion of the Rolls of the Manor of Dallow for the years 1455-1457. The MS. is on parchment greatly damaged by time; in places the writing is so faint as to be almost illegible; and, to add to the difficulty of mastering its contents, it is written in such abbreviated and indifferent Latin that only an

expert can make sense of its contents. We give here a translation, not only because it contains references to several Crawleys of the time, but because some of the entries are highly interesting illustrations of laws and customs of the Middle Ages.

A.D. 1455-1458.

Extract from the (Roll of the) Court of Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Lord of the Manor of Dolowe, held there on the Feast of St Mary the Virgin in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth (A.D. 1455).

Of the tenants of Hertwell for the common fine	2s.
Of the same tenants for default of coming or of (making) suit	2s.
Of the tenants of Crawele and Luyton for the common fine	3s.
Of William Grenefeld, who is a common brewer and broke the assize ; therefore he (is) in mercy	4d.
Of John Wellys for the like cause	4d.
Of Thomas Fuller because he is a regrater of beer	2d.
Of Richard Godfrey for the aforesaid cause	2d.
Of Robert Potter for the like cause	2d.

Extracts from the Rolls 25

Of John Acworth for the common fine of Ryestrete	12d.
Of Thomas, servant of John Dalrou, because he is without the tything	2d.
Of Thomas Faulk' for default of (making) suit of court	2d.
It is commanded to distrain John Cokeyn for (not?) doing fealty for the tene-ments late William Shorfield's	
Sum	9s. 6d.

Extract from the (Roll of the) Court held at Dolowe on the Feast of St Lucy the Virgin in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth (A.D. 1455).

Of the common fine of Hertwell	2s.
Of the tenants there for default of coming to the court	2s.
Of the common fine of Crawele and Luyton	3s.
Of William Grenefeld because he made default in coming to the view of (frankpledge)	2d.
Of Thomas Fulkes for the like cause	2d.
Of Richard Godfrey for the cause afore-said	2d.
Of John Challey, who is without the tything; therefore he is in mercy	2d.
Of Robert Crawele for the cause afore-said	2d.

26 A Bedfordshire Family

Of Thomas Crawele for the same cause .	2d.
Of Reginald Sare for the cause aforesaid	2d.
Of William Crawele for the cause aforesaid	2d.
Of John Fuller, son of Thomas Fuller, for the like cause	2d.
Of Thomas Mussell, servant of Robert Dyer, for the same	2d.
Of John Acworth for the common fine of Rystrete	12d.
Of the same for default of coming to the view of the court there	2d.
Of John Draweserd, servant of John Acworth, who is without the tything; therefore he is in mercy	2d.
Of Adam Scot, servant of the same, for the cause aforesaid	2d.
Of John Dalrou because he brewed, and broke the assize	2d.
Of John Vale for relief for the tenement late Henry Codere's	16d.
Of the same for of the same tenement	2s.
Of Richard Long because he fished in the several fishpool called Bury Mille Ponde at Luyton; therefore he is in mercy	20d.
Of Henry Sternell for the cause aforesaid	20d.
Sum .	17s.

DOLOWE.

Extract from the Court held there on the Feast of St. . . . the Virgin in the (thirty)-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth (A.D. 1456-7).

Hertwell—

Of the tenants of Hertwell for the common fine	2s.
Of the same tenants for default of coming (to the court) and of (making) suit of court . . .	2s.
Sum	4s.

Byscote—

Of John Acworth for his fine . . .	12d.
Of the same for default of coming .	2d.
Of Adam Scott because he is with- out the tything	2d.
Of John Drawswerd for the like cause	1d.

Crawley—

Of the tenants of Crawley for the common fine	3s.
Of William Atte-Welle for unjustly drawing the blood of William Grenefeld	3s. 4d.
Of Thomas Fulkes for default of coming	2d.
Of John Challey (because he is) with- out the tything	2d.

28 A Bedfordshire Family

Of Robert Crawley for the cause aforesaid	2d.
Of William Crawley for the like cause	2d.
Of Thomas Lullay for the cause as above	3d.
Of William Well' for the same cause	2d.
Of Robert Dyer for the said cause .	2d.

*Extract from (the Roll) of the Court held there on the
Feast of St Lucy the Virgin in the thirty-sixth
year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth
(A.D. 1457).*

Hertwell—

Of the tenants there for the common fine	2s.	} Sum 4s.
Of the same tenants for de- fault of coming	2s.	

Byscote—

Of John Acworth for the com- mon fine	12d.	} Sum 14d.
Of John Drawswerd because he is without the tything . . .	1d.	
Of John Acworth for default of coming	1d.	

Crawley—

Of the tenants of Crawley for the common fine	3s.
--	-----

Of Thomas Fulkes for default of coming	3d.
. . . . Porter for the cause aforesaid	1d.
. . . . Hill cause aforesaid .	1d.
. . . . West for the cause aforesaid .	1d.
Of William cause as above .	1d.

The of Dolloe.

Of Thomas (? Crawley) . .	30s.	7d.
Of John Day	13s.	4d.
Of William Crawley	17s.	10d.
Of John Crawley	10s.	
Of the same John	6s.	10d.
Of Denton		15d.
Of John Day	4s.	3d.
Of John Camfeld	4s.	10d.
Of Alese Tymes	5s.	
Of Mychell Barbar	13s.	10d.
Of Edmond	8s.	

The manor of Dolowe or Dallow was identical with the manor of Luton Church, the particulars of which are given in Domesday Book. In the following pages we shall have to make further references to this interesting property. The name is significant of the peculiar situation of this manor in relation to the hamlet of which it formed part: the word is derived from a Saxon

word *deolan*, to divide or apportion, and has reference to the fact that, although it was situate within the hamlet of Lumbury-cum-Biscot, it was, geographically, completely divided from the main part of that hamlet by portions of the hamlet of Leagrave; and that another portion of the manor was still further separated from the hamlet by portions of the township of Luton; and another portion, at Crawley Green, was yet further separated from the other parts of the manor, being situate in the hamlet of Stopsley.

The frequent entries in these Rolls, such as, "Of John Challey, who is without the tithing; therefore he is in mercy 2d.," take us back to the Saxon laws of King Alfred. The King resolved to put down outrages and robberies, which were so common that no person could travel in safety. He therefore divided the country into tithings and hundreds—a device he borrowed from his Saxon ancestors in Germany. Such division served a double purpose—the hundred as a unit for taxation and for the administration of justice, and the tithing for purposes of police. It is immaterial to inquire whether they were established at the same time, or

whether the tithing for purposes of police grew out of the hundred set up for the convenience of taxation. Every hundred contained one hundred men and their families ; the men were sworn to act as assessors, pledges, or sureties of the King's peace within the hundred ; and over each hundred was an officer called a *centenary* or a *hundredary*. Later on he became known as the high constable of the hundred down to recent times. Even up to the middle of the nineteenth century we had a constable of the hundred of Flitt appointed by the lord of the manor of Luton, but confirmed by the Court of the Quarter Sessions for the county. His office has been superseded, and is now represented in that of the chief constables of the county and the borough. When a hundredary had been chosen and appointed, all the principal people within the hundred on a certain day met him at a place where he was expected ; and "as he alighted from his horse, they rose up, and paid their reverence to him ; then he, setting his spear upright, everyone touched his spear with their lances, and by this ceremony they solemnly vowed their obedience to his government."

From this ceremony were derived two words, *weapuns* and *tactare*, commonly rendered *wapentac*. In most of the counties north of the Humber hundreds were called *wapentacs*, and are so named to this day. In the hundred courts the hundredary and the jurymen settled disputes and punished offences.

For the still greater preservation of the peace, King Alfred divided the hundreds into *tithings*, so called because in each tithing ten men and their families formed a society, and all of them were bound to the King for the peace and good behaviour of each other. The chief of these was named the head-pledge or friborh. Hence the "view of frankpledge," within those manors the lords of which had obtained a grant of the "view of frankpledge."

The office of the head-pledge was to preside over the tithing when they determined smaller differences between neighbours, and such trespasses as belonged to their strips of land within the manor. The King ordained that every man should live in some hundred and be attached to a tithing; and if any person was accused of any offence, he should forthwith bring one of his tith-

ing that would be responsible for the offender's appearance to answer the law. If the offender made his escape, all the tything incurred a fine to the King, and, in any case, the men of the tything must pay the penalty if the offender could not. When manors were general throughout the country, lords of manors, in many places, received the grant of the right or view of frankpledge within the manor, and the lord received the fines imposed in that court. By this excellent device every man within each tithing was in a very practical sense "his brother's keeper": and the people were reduced to such a degree of peace and quiet that "the King caused bracelets of gold to be hung upon posts in highways, and none dared to touch them"! The view that tithings were an ancient Saxon institution is held by Maitland and Pollock in their *History of English Law*, and De Chauncey gives several authorities for his statement that the system was first set up by King Alfred. Stubbs says nothing of its being of Saxon origin, but tells us that Canute decreed: "We will that every free-man be brought into hundred and tithing." It

is evident that in so decreeing Canute was referring to something that was well known. In theory, every freeborn male of the age of twelve years must be in frankpledge and tithing; but earls, barons, knights, and their kinsmen, and parsons, soon established their claim to be exempt from frankpledge; and later, freeholders were also exempt on the ground that their lands were equivalent to a frankpledge. In practice, a specially full court of the hundred was held twice a year, at which the sheriff attended to see that all men who ought to be in frankpledge were there. By the thirteenth century, large masses of men never went near the court at the sheriff's turns; these were the men of those lords of manors who had "the view of frankpledge" within their manors, and themselves, in their own courts, saw that their tenants were in frankpledge. In such cases the lords claimed the fines or profits; in cases outside such manors the fines went to the King.

After the Assize of Clarendon, 1166, the duty of producing one's fellow-pledge to answer accusations fell into disuse, and the practice obtained that the head man of each tithing

attended the lords' courts, and together sat as a jury, inquired into offences, and imposed fines. The obligation to belong to a tithing continued until the reign of Charles II., and in the Rolls of the Manor of Dallow for 1455, above quoted, we see the practice in working. John Challey had failed to attach himself to a tithing, and for such failure paid the fine of two pence, a sum equivalent to a day's work by a man of his standing; a meaner man was fined only one penny.

Another curious custom alluded to in these Rolls was called "the common fine." As a custom it was not common to every manor. In Wharton's *Law Lexicon*, the common fine is described as "a small sum of money paid to the lord by residents in certain leets" (Fleta, i. 7, c. xlviii.), and in Scroggs' *Practice of the Courts Leet and Courts Baron* will be found several examples of manors in which "the common fine" was levied; but as we have never come upon an instance of the custom prevailing in manors having a court baron only, we have no doubt it was a fine incident to the "view of frankpledge." The first business of these

36 A Bedfordshire Family

courts of view of frankpledge, where not held jointly with the court baron, was to secure the appearance of the "chief pledge" with the decenners, "the tithing men." The number appearing varies, but, being sworn, they jointly gave twelve pence to the King. This, "the common fine," by ancient custom was the sum paid down to the year 1575; but in the later courts it rose to two shillings. They then proceeded to swear of the tithing anyone who was of age to be attached to some decenna or group forming part of the hundred. The age at which a lad was to be sworn, from King Alfred's time till close on the end of the fifteenth century, was twelve, but he must have lived in the place for a year and a day. By the middle of the next century the age rose to fourteen, and shortly afterwards to twenty-one. The Rolls further show us that, having imposed the "common fine" for that court, the jury proceeded to fine the men of the chief pledge who did not attend that court from three pence to one shilling each, and the ordinary tithing men one penny or two pence each.

The next business was the fining of themselves and their neighbours for breaking the

“assize of bread or ale,” for breaches of common-right, for poaching, for tippling, for regrating and similar breaches of the statute and common law.

Amongst other interesting customs disclosed by the Dallow Rolls was the *Blodwit* (from *blod*, Saxon for “blood,” and *wyte*, Old English for “pity”). It was an amercement for bloodshed or assault and battery, a customary fine payable as a composition and atonement for shedding or drawing of blood, founded on an early Saxon law. The offender had to compensate not only the person injured, but also his lord, and the amount varied according to the status or rank of the person injured. In the entry in the Court Rolls we have the compensation paid by William at-the-Well to the lord of the manor for unlawfully wounding William Greenfield, 3s. 4d.

The penalties imposed on William Greenfield, a common brewer, and others for breaking the assize of ale, show that the abbot had the assize of ale and most probably of bread—as, if the lord of a manor had the assize of the one, he usually had the other also. It meant that the lord of

the manor or his court fixed from time to time the prices at which bread and ale should be sold, and the quality of the articles. A breach of the ordinance in these matters was liable to penalties which formed part of the revenue of the lord of the manor. At the time this court for Dallow manor was held, the assize of ale was regulated by a statute of the year 1267, which provided that, when the price of a quarter of barley was under two shillings, the brewer must sell in towns two gallons of ale for a penny, and in country places three gallons for a penny.

A regrater of beer was one who bought ale at the legal price, and sold it again at a higher one.

Offences such as "owling," or transporting wool or sheep out of the kingdom, usury, cheating in trade, breaking the assizes of bread and ale, selling by false weights and measures; "forestalling," or buying goods on the way to market or dissuading persons from bringing goods to market; "regrating," or the buying of corn or other victual in the market, and selling it again in the same market or within four miles of the place at a higher price; "engrossing," or the buying up of large quantities of corn or

other victuals, with the intent to force up the price: all these were offences at common law, but were later made offences by statute. The ancient Romans punished offences of a similar kind. The statutory penalty in England for bakers breaking the assize of bread was to stand in the pillory, and for brewers to stand in the tumbrel or dung-cart. In Domesday Book it is stated that brewers at Chester were so punished in the reign of Edward the Confessor. In a portion of the Court Rolls of the Manor of Luton for the year 1535, now in the possession of the Marquis of Bute, John Crawley was fined by the court leet for buying sheep in Luton Market to sell again in the same market, "contrary to statute." John Crawley's offence was not that of "regrating," but of infringing on the rights of the owner of the market by avoiding the market toll for the second sale.

The offence for which Richard Long and Henry Sternell were fined twenty pence each was poaching for fish in the "Bury Mille Ponde." In the days when fasting from eating flesh at least one day in every week was generally observed, fish was a valuable article of food, and

many manors had fish-stews, such as may be seen to-day at Limbury, for keeping the fish alive until they were wanted for the table. The term "several fishpool" means that not only the right of fishing but the fee-simple of the pond itself belonged to the abbot. The "Bury Mille Pond" was sometimes called the "Abbot's Pond" or the "Abbot's Pool"; the term "bury" here is synonymous with "manor"—as, for example, the "bury house" always indicated the "manor house."

There are some interesting Luton names mentioned in the Rolls, some of which are still common in the district: John Wells, Thomas Fuller, Richard Godfrey; Robert Potter, an old Luton family now well known in Philadelphia; John Acworth, a large landowner in Luton (several members of this family lie buried in Luton Church); Thomas Fulkes may have been a descendant of the famous Fulkes de Breauté, who was a terror to Bedfordshire in the reign of King John; John Cokeyn, a family still known in Bedfordshire in connection with Cokayne Hatley; Richard Long, John Day, Henry Sternell, sometimes written Stonnell or Stronnell.

Crawleys of Dallow Manor 41

The John Day mentioned in the above Rolls owned a house, orchard, garden, and thirty-three acres of land at Crawley Green, for which he paid to the lord of the manor of Dallow the above-mentioned quit-rent of thirteen shillings and four pence.

The John Camfeld named in the schedule, above quoted, as paying a rent of four shillings and ten pence, held three acres of arable land in "Blackwaterfelde," abutting towards the south upon a certain way, called "Vicar's Balk," leading from Luton towards King's Walden.

The most interesting names to us amongst the persons named in the Court Rolls of Dallow Manor are the four members of the Crawley family, William, John, Robert, and Thomas Crawley, and also William Atte-Well and John Challey, who were connections of William Crawley by his marriage with Alice Atte-Well.

The schedule at the end of the Dallow Court Rolls headed "The . . . of Dolloe" is probably a list of rents paid by tenants of the manor. It is incomplete, as only nine tenants are named, and we know from the Crawley Papers that there were at least sixteen tenants at Crawley alone.

42 A Bedfordshire Family

The schedule states that John Crawley was paying sixteen shillings and ten pence, that William Crawley was paying seventeen shillings and ten pence, and we think the person Thomas paying thirty shillings and seven pence was Thomas Crawley. It is therefore clear that the Crawleys were amongst the largest owners of lands within the manor of Dallow in 1455.

We have dwelt at some length on these Dallow Court Rolls because they are not only evidence of the status of members of the Crawley family, as landowners, early in the fifteenth century, but, to those who are interested in the old laws and customs of England, they contain allusions of such an interesting nature that a book might be written explanatory of the terms used in the few leaves of the Rolls above quoted. In our next chapter we shall draw from these Rolls and from other Crawley papers a pedigree of the Crawley family showing five generations of Crawleys earlier than the beginning of the family pedigree to be seen at Stockwood.

CHAPTER III

Descendants of William Crawley and Alice Attewelle,
1400-1455.

WE think there can be little doubt that the William Crawley named in the Court Rolls of Dallow Manor, reproduced in the last chapter, was the husband of Alice Atte-Welle and the father of William Crawley, numbered 2 on the above pedigree, because, at the date of the Chancery plea we are about to quote, the husband of Alice Crawley was dead, while from other Crawley Papers we learn that at the date of the same plea John, Richard, and Thomas Crawley, named in the Rolls, were still living.

In the Public Record Office, London, amongst the early pleas of the Court of Chancery, Bundle No. 31, Plea No. 124 of the year 1466 is a petition of one William Crawley respecting certain lands at Stopsley in Luton. The fol-

44 A Bedfordshire Family

lowing is a transcript of the document taken from the Crawley Papers :—

To the Right Reverent Father in God, George, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England.

Mekely besechen your gracious lordship, William Crauley, sone and heier of Alice Crauley, and Thomas Challey, sone and heier of Johanne Challey, that where as Johanne atte Welle, sumtyme wif of Thomas atte Welle, and modir unto the said Alice and Jone, was seised of a meed and 140 acres of land, with the appurtenances, in Stoppuslegh, within the town of Luton, in the counties of Bedford and Hertford, in her demeasnes as in fee, and so seased, enfeffed Ap Thomas atte Gate, late vicour of the chirche of Offeleghe, Robert Tayllard and William Shotfold in the said mead and land thappurtenances, of trust to thentent that they shuld re(en)feffe the seid Alice and Johanne Challey, and their heires, at all tymes whan they were lawefully required. Which said Ap Thomas and Robert died, and the forseid William Shotfold overlyved, and so thereof was sole seased, and had issue John Shotfold and disceased, after whos dethe your seid besechers have oftentymes requyred the seid John to make theym estate of the seid meed and land, with thappurtenances, accordyng to thentent abovesaid, and that to do utterly he hath refused and yet refuceth ; please it your gracious lordship to consider the premysses, and thereupon to graunt a writ of

subpena directed to the said John, to appere before yowe in the Kynges chauncery at a certain day be yowe limyted, there to be examyned of the premysses, and thereupon to do that right and conscience requyren in that behalve for the love of God and in wey of charite.

What does this old Chancery plea tell us? That at the end of the fourteenth century one Joan, the wife of Thomas at the Well, owned lands at Stopsley, in Luton, in her own right; that the said Thomas and Joan Attewell had two daughters, one named Alice and the other Johanne. Johanne Attewell survived her husband, and executed a deed whereby she conveyed her property to trustees upon trust to convey the same to her daughters Alice and Johanne and their heirs, when required so to do. Alice Attewell married one of the first Crawleys of whom we have evidence in Luton, and they had a son named William, who was heir to the said Alice Crawley. Her sister, Johanne Attewell, married a man named Challey, and had a son named Thomas, who was heir to the said Johanne. One of the trustees, named William Shotfold, survived the others, and there-

fore the legal estate of the trust property became vested in him alone ; he died leaving a son and heir, John Shotfold, to whom the trust estate descended as "bare-trustee." The next incident in this little drama is that, Alice Crawley and her sister Johanne Challey and their husbands being all dead, and their respective sons and heirs being of age, these said sons frequently required John Shotfold to convey the legal estate of the above property to them, which "he utterly refused and yet refuseth to do."

This plea throws curious and interesting light on the history of the law of the devolution of real estate in England. By the feudal laws the almost sacred right of a man's heir against all other members of the family was a fruitful source of injustice: no man could will his real estate away from his heir. Our English lawyers, notwithstanding many wild assertions to the contrary, have done much more to defeat the ends of unjust laws and to widen the bounds of natural justice than the generality of mankind is willing to admit. Our lawyers, amongst many other devices to break down the injustice of feudal law, discovered a method by which a

man might defeat the rights of his heir and do justice to the other members of his family by executing a deed of conveyance of his real estate to trustees, with directions to the trustees to convey such real estate, after the death of the owner, to such persons as the owner had named in the trust-deed, or to such persons as he might name in his will.

The turbulence and general unsettlement resulting from the Wars of the Roses were the occasion of much injustice and oppression on the part of the strong against the weak, and it was difficult, and often impossible, to obtain justice from the King or from the judges. Trustees not only neglected their duty, but often, as in the case above mentioned, refused to obey the directions of trust-deeds. The *Paston Letters*, which cover the period from 1422 to 1509, afford repeated evidence of such acts of injustice; but about the year 1474 a Lord Chancellor was appointed by Edward IV. who laid the foundations of equity in this respect on a firmer basis than had been known for some generations. This Lord Chancellor was Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of

48 A Bedfordshire Family

Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York. Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, describes him as the greatest equity lawyer of his age; and the most enduring monument to his memory is that in those turbulent times he asserted and firmly established the principle that a trustee must convey trust estates according to the directions of the persons beneficially interested. Archbishop Rotherham was lord of the manor of Luton shortly after the death of Lord Wenlock in 1471, and his brother, Sir John Rotherham, and his mother lived at Luton, and were buried in Luton Church. We mention these circumstances here because we think it is highly probable that the assistance of Lord Chancellor Rotherham was invoked on behalf of William Crawley in the above-mentioned plea, and the instance of the trustee in that case refusing to carry out his duty was, amongst many others, probably the means of moving the Lord Chancellor to establish this branch of equity on a proper basis. We have not traced the judgment of the court in this matter, but it is certain that John Shotfold conveyed the estate; and from the fact that we learn from the

Crawley Papers that the whole of the property was vested in descendants of William Crawley, we think it likely that an arrangement was made between Thomas Challey and William Crawley that the whole property should be conveyed to William Crawley, the heir of Alice Crawley, who thereupon entered into the possession of that estate, as well as the estate he derived from his father. That his father's estate was of fair proportions we shall learn presently. This young William Crawley is numbered 2 on our pedigree.

The family to which Alice Attewell belonged were amongst the principal landowners at Luton in 1474. We find a John Welle and Johan his wife amongst the founders of the Guild of the Holy Trinity at Luton in that year, and in the year 1480 John Attewelle was Master of the Guild. In the Dallow Court Rolls above quoted we find Thomas Attewelle committing an assault on William Grenefield.

The next of the Crawley Papers we take up is a deed dated the 14th June 1476 (Crawley Papers, No. 3). It is a document dealing with the trusts of an estate called Lammers, con-

50 A Bedfordshire Family

sisting of two houses, and arable, pasture, and wood lands to the extent of 152 acres, all situate at Stopsley, in the manor of Luton, and belonging to the Guild of the Holy Trinity at Luton. The deed mentions William Crawley, Robert Crawley, and Thomas, son of William Crawley. William Crawley, No. 1 in the pedigree, the husband of Alice Attewell, being dead, and the plea above quoted stating that William Crawley's son was named William, it is clear that the William of the deed of 1476 was the William Crawley No. 2 in the pedigree, and by the same evidence his son Thomas Crawley is certainly No. 3. Thomas Crawley, No. 3 in the pedigree, made his will in the year 1511. His will is an important document, if read in conjunction with the will of his son John, which, although it was made in 1519, did not take effect until 1545, in which year his death is recorded in the register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity in connection with Luton Church. In the will of 1511 Thomas Crawley mentions that his wife was to have "the house she dwelleth in for life"; after her death it was to go to his heir, John Crawley. In the will of

John Crawley, made in 1519, he mentioned that his mother was living in the house at Nether Crawley, and that his son John was to have Nether Crawley, also the farm of Haverings-Holy and the tithes of Luton and Chaul End. The John Crawley last mentioned did not live to inherit Nether Crawley, and consequently it passed to his brother Richard in the year 1544. Thus we have John Crawley, No. 4, and Richard Crawley, No. 5 in the pedigree.

Richard Crawley, No. 5 in the pedigree, left the manor of "Plenties" to his son William, who sold it in the year 1568. We mention the transaction here because the deed by which William conveyed the property provides us with convincing proof of the third, fourth, and fifth generations of the pedigree. William Crawley, in what conveyancers would term his "covenant for right to convey," declares that the manor of Plenties had been held by his father, Richard Crawley (No. 5 in the pedigree), by his grandfather, John Crawley (No. 4), and by his great-grandfather, Thomas Crawley (No. 3 in the pedigree). He does not merely vouch the title for three generations, but he gives the

52 A Bedfordshire Family

names of his ancestors from whom he derived the property. It is, we think, clear that the pedigree we have set out is abundantly proved by the documents, deeds, and wills above referred to.

Of the William Crawley, No. 1 in the pedigree, we have no information beyond that afforded by the Dallow Roll of 1455 and the Chancery plea of 1466; but of his son William, No. 2, and his grandson Thomas, No. 3 on the pedigree, we get some interesting information from the Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin, a manuscript in the possession of the Marquis of Bute, and printed for public circulation in 1906. Of the foundation of this Guild we give some account later on; suffice it here to say, it was founded by Thomas Rotherham, Lord Chancellor, in 1474, and that the Guild was in working order the following year. The Register commences with the year 1475. In 1478 the William Crawley, No. 2 on the pedigree, and his wife, Alice, were admitted members of the Guild. He is there described as of Dane Street. In 1490 William Crawley was advanced to the position of Senior Warden

Guild of the Holy Trinity 53

of the Guild. The Guild was composed of the most illustrious of the great men of the country connected with Luton, such as—

The Earl of Kent and his wife, a daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

Sir Anthony Grey.

Sir John, afterwards Lord, Wenlock and his wife.

Alice Rotherham, mother of the Chancellor.

Sir John Rotherham, Lord of the Manor of Luton, brother of the Chancellor.

Roger Rotherham, LL.D., another brother.

Lord Hoo and Hastings and his wife.

Sir Godfrey Boleyn	{	Of the same family as Sir
Sir William Boleyn		Thomas Boleyn, father of
		Anne Boleyn, wife of Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas Hoo, nephew and heir of Lord Hoo.

Sir John Cokayn, an ancestor of the Cokayne-Hatleys.

The Abbot of St Albans.

The Prior of Dunstable.

The Rev. John Lammer, Vicar of Luton,

and others among the more substantial freeholders of the parish.

Thomas Crawley, No. 3 on the pedigree, became a member of the Guild in 1480, Warden in 1492, and in 1502 Master of the Fraternity.

54 A Bedfordshire Family

The annual income of this Guild, represented in money value of the present time, was close upon two thousand pounds, and the position of Master of the Fraternity was the most honourable local position that any layman could aspire to. That two of the Crawleys, within so few years after the foundation of the Guild, attained to the highest positions of trust in connection with this wealthy foundation, is an additional evidence of the fact that early in the fifteenth century the Crawleys were amongst the most substantial landowners of Luton.

As this Thomas Crawley's will is an interesting document, we give the following extracts from it. The original will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and can be found in the Register, Petiplace I., proved 23rd May 1511.

I commend my soul to Almighty God and Our Lady St Mary and all the saints of heaven, and my bodie to be buried in the Church of Lewton before the Trinity aulter. For my mortuary my best neist. To the high aulter for tythes forgotten, XXd. To the Church of Leuton, a candlestyke of silver the valew of £6, 13s. 4d. A book called an antiphyoner the valew of £6, 13s. 4d. To the Church of Lewton a

suett of vestments to the valew of £II. To the reparation of the same Church 4os. I will that a preest shall syng for me the space of three years if need be, the stipend of one year shall goo to the fulfilling of my will. In every parish where I have shepp going, I bequeath one to the high aulter and nine to the reparation of the church. I will that my son John keep my obite for ever, with the whole quere in the Church of Lewton. I will that my wife shal have the messuage in the which she dwelleth yn for the term of her life with movabilles and immovabilles, except the whete in the barne. That whete I will that mine executors shall have for fulfilling of my will. I will that my wife shall have all my malt in the place of *Danys Strete*, and the whete in *Danys Strete* shall remain to my executors. I will that my son shall give for the grounde in *Danys Strete* in almesse every year the space of twenty yeres VIs. VIIId. I will that Thomas *Crowley* shall have my messuage of *Chiltern Greyn* that he dwelleth yn, £20 and half the ground called *Wystoke*, and he shall pay for it £10 and for the payment of the whole sum of £30 both for his messuage and his part of the ground called *Wystoke*, he shall have VIII yeres space. And the other half of the said ground called *Wystoke* my son John shall have and pay for it £10, and so the hole somme of all is £40 to be paid to my executours. I will that Agnes my doughter shall have all my shepe in the parish of *Stepyngley*. If the residue of my goods not bequeathed will extend to the value of

56 A Bedfordshire Family

£6, 13s. 4d., then I will that with that somme another antiphoner shall be bought, or ellys it shall go to other necessary things of the church. And I make for the disposcion of my goods bequeathed and not bequethed and for the execution of this my last will, John Lamer and Thomas Monyghame myn executors, and that they dispose of my goods for the helth of my soule as they will answer. Each to have for his labour 40s.

Witnesses: Edward Sheffield, doctor of law, Vicar of Lewton, Robert Wright, priest, William Parker, gentleman, Edward Neyll, Thomas Holder, John *Crowley*, John Caron, and others.

The direction that he should be buried before the Trinity altar in Luton Church shows his connection with the Trinity Guild above mentioned. In pre-Reformation times there were several altars in Luton Church besides the high altar in the chancel; and Mr Cobbe states that two of these altars were in the present Hoo Chapel, namely, the altar of the Holy Trinity and the altar of Our Lady.

The bequest of twenty pence to the high altar for tithes forgotten was a frequent form of bequest in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and seems to have been a tardy

reparation for more or less intentional sins of omission towards Holy Church. If Thomas Crawley had any such sins troubling his conscience, we may believe they were atoned for by his bequests to the Church of Luton, which, when reduced to money value of the present time, total to a sum exceeding five hundred pounds. The devise to his wife of the messuage "she dwelleth yn for the term of her life" had reference to "Nether Crawley." This is proved by the wording of his son John Crawley's will, in 1519, in which he mentions that his mother was living at Nether Crawley. Thomas Crawley had another house at Chiltern Green, in which his second son, Thomas Crawley, was then residing; he had also land and a "place" at Dane Street, where his father resided in the year 1478. The land in his will called "Wystoke" must be the lands now known as "Westcotts," Nos. 2331, 2332, 2333 on the tithe map. The Dane Street lands are Nos. 2316, 2324, 2325, 2326, and 2327; both properties are but a short distance from Chiltern Green. The Chiltern Green farm comprises a farmhouse, buildings, and lands belonging to the Hyde estate. The

house and homestead stand at the corner of the road running from Chiltern Green down to the Chiltern Green Station on the Midland Railway, and are now in the occupation of Mr Henry Pigott. This farm has been tenanted by the Pigott family for several generations. The same family have been landowners in Stopsley for nearly seven hundred years. They were certainly substantial people in the twelfth century, in the reign of King John, when Fulkes de Breauté violently dispossessed William Pigott of property in Luton. Henry III., in 1224, ordered the property to be restored to Philip Pigott, son and heir of William Pigott (Close Roll, Henry III., mem. 12). We have been unable to trace whether the Pigotts of Luton were connected with the gentle family of that name at Gravenhurst in the sixteenth century.

Chiltern Green remained in the Crawley family as late as the reign of Charles I., when the elder branch of the family sold both Chiltern Green and Dane Street properties to a family of the name of Sibley. About a hundred years ago the Sibleys sold them, and moved to a large house on the west side of Park Street in

Luton, but they left Luton about sixty years ago. From a deed in the possession of Mr Henry Brown of Highfield, Luton, we learn that the Sibleys were in possession of Chiltern farm as late as the year 1803. Their descendants still own Adelaide Terrace, the chemist's shop in George Street, occupied by Mr E. Hall, and the adjoining shop, occupied by Mr J. C. Roberts, a grocer. These properties yield an annual rent of six pounds to the trustees of the Bigland, Gillingham, and Long foundations in Luton, and the rent is paid through a Mr William Sibley of Grafton Street, Dublin. The Sibleys sold the Chiltern Green farm to the Ames family, to whom it belongs at the present time. The Dane Street property they sold to Richard Oakley, and it now belongs to his successor, the proprietor of "Lawrence End." We have no information establishing relationship between the above-mentioned family of Sibleys and the well-known family of that name at Annables, near Harpenden.

The house at Chiltern Green dates from the time of James II.; but a dovecot and a granary near the house were probably standing

60 A Bedfordshire Family

when the place was owned by the Crawleys. This dovehouse suggests that Chiltern Green was a manor-house, as formerly none but lords of manors, and possibly rectors, could, as a matter of right, erect a dovehouse—a right which was introduced into England by the Normans. The birds fed on other grain besides that provided by their owners, and thus imposed a heavy tax on farmers, and led to the protection of birds in dovecotes by the game laws at a very early period. It is commonly asserted that the nuisance of dovehouses to the farmers of France was one of the grievances which led to the French Revolution.

Returning to the will of Thomas Crawley, we notice that the will contains no mention of the manor of Plenties at Stopsley, nor of several other properties which passed to John Crawley as heir-at-law of Thomas Crawley. It is also remarkable that no mention is made of Thomas Crawley's son Edward, but we think it probable that his father had set him up in business at Luton as a maltster, and that Edward, being a successful man and unmarried, was not in need of any further help from his father. The

executors and some of the witnesses of Thomas Crawley's will should be noticed, as several of them were men of mark in Luton. John Lamer was connected with the family of that name who owned property at Stopsley called "Lammers," and one of whom was Vicar of Luton from 1454 to 1477. The name of Monynghame was of frequent recurrence at Luton in the Middle Ages. Edward Sheffield, LL.D., was Canon of Lichfield and Vicar of Luton, 1502-1526, a near relative of Sir Robert Sheffield, Speaker of the House of Commons and Recorder of London. Dr Sheffield was buried in Luton Church. It is related that he had a tomb and brass effigy in full canon's robes made and inscribed in his lifetime, leaving a space for the insertion of the date of his death, which was never added.

John Crawley, No. 4 on the pedigree, and clearly indicated on his father's will as eldest son of Thomas Crawley, was probably living at Plenties when his father died. He had four brothers, namely, Thomas Crawley of Chiltern Green, Edward, William, and Richard, and two sisters. John Crawley made his will in 1519, but, as there is no probate attached to it, the date

62 A Bedfordshire Family

of his death is uncertain. There is good reason for the statement that both he and his eldest son, also named John, died before his brother Edward Crawley made his will, which was proved on 21st May 1545, because, although Edward Crawley made mention of four of his brother John Crawley's children, he makes no mention of his brother John or of John Crawley's eldest son as being alive. The correctness of this conjecture seems to be established by the register of the Trinity Guild, where it is recorded that John Crawley, senior, died in 1545, and John Crawley, junior, died in 1544. The suggestion that he, John Crawley, junior, died a bachelor is supported by the fact that when admitted a member of the Fraternity—in 1543—he is described as a bachelor. We give an abstract of the will of John Crawley, senior, No. 4 on pedigree. A copy of the will is to be seen at Northampton Registry: it is dated the 24th May 1519.

“John Crawley of Luton, to be buried in the Church at Luton nigh grave of my father.”

To the Mother Church of Lincoln, 8d.

To the High Altar of Luton for tithes forgotten, 2s.

To the lights of the Church, "every one of them," 4d.

John, his eldest son, to have his house at Neyther Crawley "which my mother dwelleth in," with all appurtenances, and the farm of Haverings Holy, with all the profits both of corn and tithes and one piece of land in Longcroft called six acres abutting upon the land of Haveryng on the south part with all the profits to him and his heirs. Also he wills to the said John sixteen score of sheep of the best at his "owne choyse" from the farm of Haveryngs. John to pay to his mother £4 a year during her life, and to find her meat and drink if she stays with him. To the said John his portions of the tithes of Luton and Challey End "duryng my yeres." Joan his wife to have the house he lives in, called "Plentisse," till Richard his son is twenty-three years old, with all the appurtenances and profits except the six acres before bequeathed, so that she make no waste of tymber. Richard to enter into possession thereof at the age of twenty-three, with all the appurtenances, except the six acres, paying to his mother 20s. a year for her dowry. His wife to have some horses and sheep, but the wool to be reserved for his executors for this year. Richard is to have two horses, two beasts, and twenty sheep when he enters into his house, which are to be delivered to him by his mother out of her stock. His two sons William and Thomas to have his house at Dane Street, with all the lands and appurtenances both freehold and copyhold, at the age of twenty-one,

and in the meantime his son John Crawley to have the occupying and profits of the same. His wife to have 20s. a year of the said house for her dowry during her life. Thomas Crawley of Chiltern Green to have half his tithes in New Mill End, and his sons William and Thomas to have the other half "during my yeres." John his son to have the "giding" of his brothers' partes of the tithes of New Mill End to their profits till they are twenty-one. Daughter Joan to have twenty sheep "out of the wolfe." Daughter Alys to have twenty sheep delivered "out of the wolfe." If William or Thomas die, either is to be the other's heir. His wife to have "all such stuffe of household as is in the house I dwell in called Plentisse." John his son is "to kepe an obit for my father, my mother and me with the whole choir of Luton according to my fathers will and to distribute 6s. 8d. to poore folke the space of xij yerys," which 6s. 8d. is to be at the charge of Dane Street. John to have six horses and eight beasts which are at the farm of Haveryngs, "so that he take none of my mothers two beasts." George Chapman his cousin to have two sheep. To his unborn child some barley. And if his wife is not content with his bequest, then she is to have for her dowry "accordyng to the law." The residue of his estate to his son John Crawley, who with Thomas Mannyngham is appointed executor "as my trust is in them thereto."

The will ends here abruptly, and as there is

no probate attached, the will has been registered under the year of the date of the will, and not under date of the probate.

It seems clear from the wording of this will that the testator was expecting that his death was imminent ; but he must have recovered from his illness, as we have already called attention to the record of his death in the year 1545, and that his eldest son, John Crawley, died a bachelor, only a few months before his father, and about a year after he was admitted a brother of the Guild of the Trinity.

The mention of Haverings Holy is extremely interesting, as it shows that it was a separate and distinct property from the manor of Haverings, which, as we shall see, was not acquired until some years later. Upon the Eaton Green farm there stood some years ago the remains of a small chapel, and it is part of the history of the parish of Luton, and of the church, that there was a chapel in that part of the parish. One of the fields on the Eaton Green farm is still called “Chapel field.” The name of “Haverings Holy” seems to have been dropped some time subsequent to the will of 1519. The land was

66 A Bedfordshire Family

probably merged in that part of the manor-farm of Greathampstead and Aydens which was retained by the family when a portion of it was sold off in 1662, a transaction that will be referred to in the next chapter.

The tithes of Luton and Chaul End referred to in the will of 1519 are also interesting. John Crawley and his descendants frequently held leases of the tithes of Luton before they became owners of such tithes.

It appears from the above will, that we have further confirmation of the fact that there was a house at Dane Street. In Thomas Crawley's will, 1511, it was referred to as a "place." At the time John Crawley made the will of 1519 he was living at Plenties, and his mother was at Nether Crawley. As his mother was living in 1544, it seems probable that John Crawley died at Plenties. John Crawley's brother Edward was a bachelor, and is so described in his will. He was admitted a member of the Trinity Guild in 1536. As he was churchwarden of Luton Church, and as he mentions several members of the family whose names appear on the Stockwood pedigree, we give an abstract of

Edward Crawley, Churchwarden 67

his will, taken from *Beds Notes and Queries*, vol. iii. p. 26. The will is dated 20th December 1544, and was proved the 21st May 1545.

Edward Crawley, of Luton, single man, 20th December 1544. To be buried in the Church of our Lady in Luton before the Trinity altar. To my mother 30s. To my brother William two quarters of malt; to Richard, Thomas, and William, sons of my brother John Crawley, two quarters of malt. Agnes Chapman and Joane Hill, sister's daughters, 3s. 4d. each. To every child of my brother Richard eight pence each. To Joan, wife of Richard Hill and William Norris, sundry bequests. Appoints Sir John Gweneth, Vicar of Luton, supervisor, and John Tymmes, junior, and Edward Norris executors. Witnesses: Sir John Gweneth, Vicar, Sir John Johnson, writer of this testament, John Tymmes the elder, etc. Proved 21st May 1545.

In the sixteenth century vicars were frequently given the title of "Sir." Edward Crawley omitted to devise his real estate, which therefore passed to his heir-at-law, Richard Crawley of Nether Crawley.

John Gwynneth, Mus. Doc. Ox., 1531, was Vicar of Luton from 1537 till 1558. About ten years after the death of Edward Crawley, Dr Gwynneth and John Crawley of Nether

68 A Bedfordshire Family

Crawley, grand-nephew of Edward Crawley, were called upon to give an account of certain portions of the church plate which had been sold by Edward Crawley, by consent of the parish, during the time Edward Crawley was churchwarden. We are indebted to the Rev. J. E. Brown, Vicar of Studham, for the following extract from the Church Inventories of Edward VI.:—

Ex K. R. Ch. Goods $\frac{12}{27}$.

William Perott of Luton and others of the same parisshe for a paxe of silver with a pece of mother of perle p'oz-v oz di. A pixe of silver and gylte with a doble glasse p'oz-x xxiiij oz di. ij challasses with there pattentes doble gylte p'oz-xlv oz solde by Edward Crawley and John Punter sometyme Churchwardens there by the conцент of the parisshe as is affermed.

(Right margin.)

xviiij mercii 1555. A paxe and a pixe and ij challasses of silver.

(Left margin.)

x^{mo} mercii a^o 1555. William Perot apperinge hath affirmed upon his oth that he ys not the partie alledgyng that this Perot ys ded and therfor processe sent by Perott to John Crawley executor to Edward Crawley.

(Right margin.)

John Crawley executor of the said Edward Crawley

appering hath brought forth an accompte of his said Testator and thereof it apperyth that he chargith hymself to the Churche with xvli for the said percelles whiche was ymployed aboute the new makynge of an ile of the churche and he hath the fyrst of the terme to bringe the seid xvli yf he can gett it of the parisshe.

(Bottom of the sheet.)

John Crawley for the parcelles above remembrid—xvli whereof allowed to the said Crawley for repairing of the Ile of the Churche of Luton aforsaid by the discesiones of the comissioners viij li vjs viijd and yt ys due—vjli xiijs iiijd whiche somme ys allowed by the said commissioners with this condition that the said Crawley shall provyde and buye ornamentes for the said par(ish) Churche of Luton as doth amounte to the said somme of vjli xiijs iiijd whiche John Gwynneth vicare there in the presence of the bysshope of Ely hath undertaken shalbe don by midsomer next.

(Left margin.)

Md The xijth of June anno ij^{do} et tercio the said John Gwynneth hath certyfyed the said Commyssioners by his lettre that the said Crawley hath bought certeyn ornamentes for the Churche of Luton to the valewe of vjli xiijs iiijd or above.

(On a separate sheet.)

To the Worshipfull William Barners Thomas Mildmaye and John Wyseman Esquyres the Kynges and Quenes maiestes commissioners.

70 A Bedfordshire Family

This bill made the xth day of June in the second and third yeres of the reignes of our Sovereigne lord and ladye King Phillipp and Quene Mary ys to certefye your worshipps that for the accomplishment of the order taken with John Crawley one of the executors of Edwarde Crawley sometyme churchwardeyn of the parishe Church of Luton in th countye of Bedford for the bestowing of vjli xiijs iiijd uppon some necessary ornamentes for the saide church There is bestowed by the saide Crawley uppon a cope and a vestment of blew velvett with that belongeth unto them fyve poundes There is also layed oute and bestowed uppon a chalys twenty nobles and odd money. And this is doon at the charge [and request*] of the saide Crawley

per me Johannem Gwyneth
Vicarium ibidem.

* Struck out — a remarkable emendation, suggestive that John Crawley was a Protestant.

(Extract from *The Edwardian Inventories for Bedfordshire*, pp. 22, 27.)

For the information of our Protestant readers, or those not familiar with ecclesiastical implements, we may mention that a "pax" was in ancient use in the unreformed Church of England. It was a small plate, usually of silver, with a handle at the back, and a representation

of the Crucifixion in front, either in relief or engraved. This was offered by the deacon to the people to kiss, successively, at the conclusion of mass, and the ceremony was called the “kiss of peace.” The mention of the piece of mother-of-pearl may have had reference to a figure of the Crucifixion in mother-of-pearl in relief in front of the “pax.”

A “pix” was a covered vessel used in the church for holding the consecrated host. They are most frequently of gold or silver, and sometimes, in form, like a chalice with merely the addition of a lid.

It would seem that the example of King Henry in misappropriating church property had been followed by the parishioners of Luton, but from a better motive. The church needed repairs to one of the aisles; nobody wanted to be at the expense of doing it; the Reformation and the removal of the chapel altars may have already taken effect, and rendered the pax and the pix unnecessary, and two of the chalices superfluous. The parish authorised the churchwardens to sell the articles, which they did for £15, and spent the money on the church.

72 A Bedfordshire Family

Queen Mary was too zealous a Catholic to allow that kind of thing to pass unnoticed, and in her reign commissioners appointed for the purpose held such inquisitions as that above mentioned. John Crawley of Nether Crawley could not raise all the money amongst the parishioners, so he made up the deficiency himself; he had to find £6, 13s. 4d., but the ornaments he provided, to make good the deficiency, cost £8, 6s. 8d.

In the above extract from the Edwardian Inventories, John Crawley is stated to have been executor of Edward Crawley; but Edward Crawley's will, dated the 20th December 1544, proved on the 21st May 1545, appointed John Tymmes, junior, and Edward Norris, executors. The description of John Crawley as executor of Edward Crawley's will must have been a mistake. John Crawley probably voluntarily came forward to put the matter right, not as executor but as head of the family; or it may be that the executors appointed in the will declined to act, and that John Crawley took upon himself the office, as Edward Crawley's next-of-kin.

CHAPTER IV

The Manors of "Plenties" and "Greathampstead," Cowridge End Farm, and some other Properties of the Crawley Family.

THE period we covered in the last chapter extended from about the year 1400 to 1545, in which year the John Crawley of the will of 1519 died, and Richard Crawley, No. 5 in the pedigree, entered upon the family estates, and with his sons began to make extensive purchases of property in all parts of Luton. During that period of a hundred and forty-four years, no less than eight sovereigns successively occupied the throne of England—three of the house of Lancaster, three of York, and two Tudors. Through all the troubles of the Wars of the Roses, neither the traditions of the family nor the Crawley Papers tell us of the attitude or doings of the family in connection with those

74 A Bedfordshire Family

momentous issues. That they should have had no part or lot in those wars, when battles were fought almost at their very gates, seems hardly probable. They held lands subject to the obligation to do military service with their feudal chief; yet we do not hear what part, if any, they played in the varying fortunes of Yorkist and Lancastrian. What was their attitude towards the reformed Church we may conjecture from the fact that Edward Crawley was churchwarden of Luton under the reformed Church. The business of the family was purely agricultural, and they diligently minded their estates. Nor were they singular in that respect. They were, during the period we are discussing, essentially of the "yeoman" class. Macaulay and other writers have dwelt upon the almost complete absence of political initiative exhibited by the yeomen of England, not only in the Middle Ages, but at any time during their history. There was one, and, so far as we know, only one, period at which, as a class, they took an active part in politics, and that was in the struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament. In that issue they sided with the

Parliament, and it was they who made possible the ultimate triumph of the Roundheads over the Cavaliers. Upon the cessation of hostilities the yeomen returned to their estates, minded their business, and never again as a class forced themselves into notice or sought to interfere in the government of the country. Before that fatal issue between King Charles and his Parliament broke out, the Crawley family had passed from the yeoman class into the ranks of gentlemen and esquires, and will be found ranged amongst the Cavaliers under the banner of the King.

Richard Crawley, the second son of John Crawley, was admitted to the Trinity Guild in 1521, when he was yet a bachelor. He made his will in the year 1551, but his death did not occur until 1578. His will is an important document, and shows him to have been possessed of considerable property ; but by far the greater part of his lands are not mentioned, but passed to his eldest son, William, by heirship. The properties specifically mentioned are "Plenties" and seven acres of land (we know that Plenties comprised 237 acres); the house at Luton, doubtless Nether Crawley or else "Townend" ;

76 A Bedfordshire Family

a close and 76 acres bought of George Acworth, Esq., and 30 acres bought of the King, and other 60 acres bought of George Acworth; a close at Grenwicke, and two closes and 27 acres of arable land. Amongst the properties omitted are Chiltern Green, Dane Street, and the farm of Haverings Holy, all of which passed to his eldest son, William.

It is sometimes difficult to follow the devolution of portions of the Crawley property, from the fact that in the sixteenth century it was not customary to insert in a will anything that was obviously intended, and unnecessary to be stated. If a man desired certain properties to go to his eldest son, he more often than not omitted to devise them, and therefore they passed to the eldest son by operation of the law of primogeniture. But it is not merely in that respect that it is difficult to follow the devolution of Crawley properties. As a family, in the sixteenth century, they were very prolific, but gradually, before the middle of the seventeenth century, numerous collateral branches died out. We meet with the descendants of William Crawley, eldest son of Richard Crawley, in the reign of Charles I.;

but before the Restoration we lose sight of them altogether, and either by purchase or inheritance nearly the whole of the Crawley lands belonging to the descendants of the eldest son of Richard Crawley had passed into the possession of the lineal descendants of John Crawley, the second son of the above-named Richard Crawley. The ambition to found a family and an estate had taken root, and the practice of dividing real estate among several sons was discontinued.

To return to Richard Crawley's eldest son, William Crawley. He was admitted to the Trinity Guild in 1546. We may gather from what was devised to him by his father's will that he had "Plenties," comprising 237 acres, other 7 acres with Plenties, Chiltern Green, Dane Street, Haverings Holy of what extent we cannot say, the tithes of Luton and Chaul End, and the whole of his father's personal estate. While his father was yet living, namely, in the year 1564, William Crawley purchased a property called "Greathampstead and Aydons." He was then living at Chiltern Green, and is so described in the conveyance.

Greathampstead and Aydons must not be con-

78 A Bedfordshire Family

founded with "Greathampstead Someries": the latter property was not acquired by the Crawleys until two or three generations later. In 1564 the property was described in the conveyance to William Crawley as—

All that messuage and farm and a dovehouse with the appurtenances called Greathampstead and Aytons, one messuage, one cottage, two tofts, one dovecote, two gardens, one orchard, 200 acres of land, 20 acres of pasture, and 10 acres of wood in Stoppesley and Luton. (Crawley Papers, Nos. 32 and 33.)

The extent totals to 230 acres. It was commonly called a manor, and is so designated in the *Victorian History of Bedfordshire*; but it was not so described in the above-mentioned conveyance. We do not think that it ever possessed either a court or tenants. If it had been a manor in 1564, it would have been so called in the deed of conveyance, and mention would have been made of the "rents of tenants."

The property remained in the Crawley family for close upon a hundred years. In the year 1602 John Crawley, described as of Greathampstead, executed a deed poll by which he conveyed the messuage called Greathampstead

and about 88 acres of land to William Howe of Cowridge End and George Carpenter of Fawcon's End, Harpenden, yeomen, in trust for the said John Crawley during his life, and after his decease to the use of the heirs male of the said John Crawley, and in default of such heirs male to the use of Thomas Crawley, "one of the brothers" of the said John Crawley, and his heirs male; and in default thereof to Edward Crawley, another brother, and his heirs male; and in default thereof to Abraham Crawley, another brother, and his heirs male. This is the first instance we have noticed of a Crawley settling an estate on male issue only.

In 1662 the above-mentioned messuage and 88 acres, with six other closes of land, making together 109 acres, were sold to John Miller, and from his family were transferred in 1705 to Richard Fielden, whose son in 1725 left the property to his daughter, Sarah Jobson, because his son Richard had intermarried with a woman of mean parentage and doubtful reputation without his consent, and that he had paid considerable sums of money for him, as shown in his "book of accompts." In 1752 this property

came back into the Crawley family on a purchase by the then John Crawley of Stockwood from one Stafford Jobson, a mariner. It has ever since remained in the possession of the Crawleys of Stockwood. See an abstract of the title to this property, Crawley Paper No. 317*a*, and Crawley Papers Nos. 924 and 925.

The manor of Greathampstead we have described as comprising 230 acres. After the severance of the 109 acres above mentioned, the remainder of the property seems to have passed from William Crawley's descendants to the lineal descendants of John Crawley of Nether Crawley, and the 121 acres so passing were attached to a mansion called Faulkner's Hall, which was erected by William Crawley or his son about the year 1612. This house stood on rising ground, and is thus described by Davis: "A spacious mansion built of brick, the walls very thick, the porch of Totternhoe stone fronting eastward, and on the porch was carved the date 1612. There was also a court in front of the house surrounded by a ditch, and the site is said to have extended over several acres." The mansion was pulled down about ninety years

ago, and no trace of it remains except the name of the land on which it stood.

At Eaton Green, almost opposite to the entrance gates of the present farm premises, are the remains of a pleasant old house and grounds dating back to the time of Queen Anne, now converted into a house for the farm bailiff and two cottages for labourers on the farm. The old fireplaces were in recent times open, with ingle-nooks on either side, but they have been recently enclosed and modernised. The interior arrangements and the roofs of these buildings are worth inspection. One of the front doors has an excellent knocker of the time of Queen Anne. On some bricks are initials and dates not easily to be deciphered; "J. M.," date uncertain, but probably "1654": "G., 1792"; "J.G., 1787." In the meadow at the rear of these buildings is a large pond. How far the water in this pond is supplied by rainfall, and how much by condensation, is a matter for conjecture; but the situation seems to us to be too high for the supply to come from surface drainage. Most of the farmhouses and cottages on the high lands within the parish of Stopsley in early times were

82 A Bedfordshire Family

almost entirely dependent on similar reservoirs for their water-supply for the inhabitants and the animals on the farms. The considerable pockets or deposits of clay on these hills afforded a ready means of providing ponds, many of which are disappearing for the simple reason that no means are adopted for re-puddling the bottoms. The wells sunk at great cost on many farms, and the Luton Water Company's water-supply in the village and even on many of the farms, have made the people and the farmers independent of pond water, and so the ponds are neglected and gradually dry up. When ponds were a real necessity, they were kept in a sound condition by regular use: animals daily entering them and walking through them kept the clay well puddled, and some farmers annually had a stampede of animals through the ponds for that purpose. Indeed, a very little trampling will keep a pond in working order for unlimited seasons; but the neglect of this necessary work will in a few seasons render ponds, which have enjoyed the reputation of never having failed, absolutely useless. The process of their destruction may be easily observed. The summer sun causes the

water area to shrink, and bakes the exposed part of the bed of the pond until it cracks at the driest edge. When towards winter the water gathers again, it fills the pond only as high as the nearest crack. The next summer the same process is repeated, and more of the floor of the pond is exposed to the sun, another crack appears ; and so the process continues until the pond is dried up and useless, and the place that was once a pond is covered with grass. We can see instances of the gradual destruction of many ponds at Stopsley now going on, and especially since the Luton Water Company extended their mains to the village. The late Mr John Sambrook Crawley of Stockwood considered the clay of this district peculiarly liable to this process. He made many attempts on his estate to form artificial ponds by carting clay to the site where a pond was needed, and, spreading it over the floor, caused it to be thoroughly puddled, at the expense of much labour and patience ; but surely enough his artificial ponds would not hold water for any length of time. We do not know if he ever attempted the construction of "dew-ponds" on

84 A Bedfordshire Family

the Wiltshire principle. Could the thrushes have given him the clue to success in their ingenious preparation of the clay lining of their nests? Or, might he have been more successful if he had puddled the *chalk* bottoms of his artificial ponds at regular intervals? We confess we have not been much impressed by the theories set up by some modern writers that primeval man of the Neolithic ages knew how to construct the much-talked-about "dew-ponds."

The lands comprised in the manor of Great-hampstead now form part of the Eaton Green farm, and are still part of the Crawley family estates held by Mr Francis Crawley, and in the occupation of a family of successful farmers of the name of Hartop, who hold at the present time (1910) the farms of Eaton Green and Nether Crawley in Stopsley, and the Grange in Biscot, all belonging to Mr Francis Crawley.

As a residence, Faulkner's Hall was more of the style of a mansion of a country "esquire" than of a "yeoman," but there is no evidence that after the outbreak of the Civil War it was ever the home of either branch of the Crawley family. As early as the year 1647 the property

had passed from the hands of the descendants of William Crawley, and was vested in Sir Francis Crawley, the judge. On the 25th October 1647 Sir Francis settled this property on his son Francis Crawley and Elizabeth Rotherham and their issue (*vide* Crawley Paper No. 226). In the deed recording this gift, it is described as—

All that capital messuage commonly called Faulkner's Hall in (the parish of) Luton together with all howses, edifices, buildinges, thereunto belonging and all lands, pastures, woodes, underwoodes whatsoever thereunto belonging or used, late in the occupacon of Thomas Crawley deceased and of John Crawley and George Crawley sonnes of the said Thomas. And also one messuage or farme-howse said messuage called Faulkoner's Hall in the occupacon of John Gilham. And all that land late parcell of Chilterne Greene, now or late in the tenure of Sibley with all and singular the landes, etc.

The witnesses to the above deed were Robert Crawley, Thomas Browne, and Robert Bennett.

We note the name of Thomas Browne as a witness of the above deed. Another member of this family, Reuben Browne, suffered as a delinquent in consequence of his accompanying

86 A Bedfordshire Family

Sir Francis Crawley as his clerk, when Sir Francis identified himself with the Royalist cause on the outbreak of the Civil War.

In 1568, four years after William Crawley bought "Greathampstead and Aytons," he sold the manor of Plenties, which had been in the possession of the family for many generations, and was one of the earliest possessions of the family. It was a very fair property, but as a residence had ceased to be equal to the requirements of even a younger son of the family. William Crawley, when he purchased Great-hampstead, had leased Plenties to one Peter Prudden, and on the 12th November 1568 sold it to a mercer of St Albans named Robert Woolley. The property was described as—

All that the manor or lordship, messuage or tenement called Plenties with the appurtenances lying in Stopisleye within the soke of Luton now in the tenure or occupation of Peter Prudden, yeoman, and all and singular lands, tenements, orchards, etc., rents, etc. lately demised by lease for years unto the said Peter his executors and assigns.

In the year 1568-9, Hilary term, II. Elizabeth, a fine was levied of this estate, completing its

transfer to the said Robert Woolley (Crawley Papers, No. 42). The description in that deed is as follows :—

The manor or capital messuage called “Plentyes,” one dovecot, one garden, one orchard, 224 acres of land, 5 acres of pasture, 8 acres of wood, and nine shillings rent. (Total acreage, 237.)

The estate remained in the Woolley family for nearly a hundred years. In the reign of Charles I. (see Crawley Papers, No. 1084) the property is thus described :—

Two messuages, two gardens, two orchards, 120 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 20 acres of wood, and tenants representing thirty pence in Luton. (Total acreage, 220.)

From this description it seems that the mansion, garden, and orchard had been divided into two tenements, that about 17 acres of land had been sold, a good extent of arable land had been laid down as pasture, and 12 acres converted into woodland, while a number of the tenants of the manor had been either alienated or enfranchised, thereby reducing the manor rent-roll from nine shillings to thirty pence per annum.

In 1656 the then Robert Woolley sold

88 A Bedfordshire Family

“Plenties” to Henry Knight alias Brothers. In 1672 Michael Knight settled it on his daughter, on her marriage with Guy Hillersden, and in 1709 Guy Hillersden and his wife sold it back to the Crawley family (Crawley Paper No. 1084). The following is a description of the property in the year 1709:—

Two messuages, two gardens, two orchards, 220 acres of land, pasture and woods and thirty pence in rents—

practically identical with the description in the time of Charles I. The consideration money for the sale by William Crawley in 1568 was equivalent to the sum of £6600 pounds in money of the present time, being at the rate of £30 per acre.

The site of the manor of Plenties is now known by the name “The Lane Farm.” In appearance the house and buildings are entirely devoid of interest; not a vestige of the old buildings, or even a tree, remains to assure us that the place was at any time an ancient manor-house or the home of people above the condition of small tenant-farmers. Yet the old house was a large place, sufficiently large to be divided

into two tenements when the Crawley family ceased to reside there. The old house, the farm buildings and premises were completely destroyed by fire between fifty and sixty years ago, when Mr Thomas Pigott occupied the farm. The fire occurred immediately after the completion of harvest operations, and the entire harvest was involved in the ruin. Opposite the manor-house there stood, in 1854, an exceedingly large trunk of an old oak, which measured eighteen yards round its base. According to tradition, the tree was "as old as the one in the New Forest against which the arrow glanced that killed King William Rufus." The trunk of the tree was hollow, and the few branches that remained were mere stumps, but showed that at one time some of its branches had been as large as an ordinary-sized tree.

As a manor, "Plenties" is as defunct as the old oak tree, and in that respect has shared the fate of the manors of Stopsley, Haverings, Greathampstead and Aytons, Greathampstead Someries, Dallow, Farley, Whipperley, Biscot, Limbury, and, in fact, all the manors that have belonged to the Crawley family. It has been

the policy of the Crawleys to extinguish these remains of the feudal system, either by buying up or enfranchising the holdings of the tenants of their manors; and as there can be no manor without tenants, the manorial courts, with all the other incidents of these manors, have long since disappeared. The prejudice, or whatever else it may be termed, of the Crawleys against these survivals of a past civilisation was not confined to their own manors; it has been equally the object of the family to secure the enfranchisement of all lands of theirs which were at any time subject to rents, dues, services, or other liabilities to the lord of the manor of Luton, or any other manor.

Before we follow the fortunes of John Crawley of Nether Crawley (No. 6 in the pedigree), we will mention a few of the properties purchased by other members of the family. In 1537 Richard Crawley bought an estate at Luton called "Bradways" (Crawley Papers Nos. 17 and 18). It was evidently the name of a residence, because one of the vendors is described as "John Parot of Bradway." There was a family of the name of Bradway, landowners in Luton, in the

fifteenth century. The name is of frequent occurrence in the early portion of the register of the Trinity Guild. The description of the property is as follows:—

All that messuage, dovehouse, garden, orchard, two closes of pasture and 70 acres of land at Luton.

In 1546 Edward Crawley purchased a messuage and lands called "Courgend" (Cowridge End), in the parish of Luton. The grantor was Thomas Ramrygge of Stoppesley, a nephew or grand-nephew of Thomas Ramridge, thirty-seventh Abbot of St Albans. The above property at Cowridge End seems to have been held of the lord of the manors of Limbrycum-Biscot. At a court for these manors held in 1547 for Sir George Berkeley, lord of the manors, it was recorded:—

To this Court came Edward Crawley and acknowledged that he held of the lord freely by charter one tenement with divers lands and pastures belonging to the same tenement formerly of William Ramrygge and now purchased of Thomas Ramrige for the rent of thirteen shillings and four pence and one cock yearly at Christmas.

It is not quite clear where this Edward

92 A Bedfordshire Family

Crawley comes in the pedigree, but we think he was the son of William Crawley of Great-hampstead, as an Edward Crawley is so described in Crawley Paper No. 118 of that time.

The subsequent devolution of Cowridge End, to be gathered from the Crawley Papers, is that it passed from Edward Crawley to the wife of Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane, thence to Thomas Crawley himself; by whom, or by one of his successors, it was conveyed, by deed dated 7th July 1585, to Thomas Crawley, jun. In the year 1623 it belonged to a Thomas Crawley, one of the Grooms of the King's Chamber, and he sold it to James Clarke. There are two messuages at Cowridge End—one on the north-east side of Cowridge End Lane and the other to the south-west of the lane. The property above mentioned lies to the north-east. The old house was pulled down a few years back, and a small, insignificant farmhouse erected in its place. Davis described the old house as having been "the residence of a superior family." It was a large house, well built and lofty, with gable ends and rooms in the roof. There were immense beams with inscriptions on them. The fireplace was raised

above the floor, and the mantel-piece and supports were of Totternhoe stone. Over the front door was inserted a carved oak panel with the initials "W.H. 1609, J.H." There were some fine oak trees standing near the house about ninety years ago, which were said to have been of great age.

We think the initials "W.H." were those of William Howe, who married a daughter of John Crawley of Nether Crawley, and was one of John Crawley's executors. He was living at Cowridge End about the year 1590 (*vide* Crawley Papers). The initials "J.H." were probably those of his son. This property in 1693 belonged to a Mrs Chew of Dunstable, who left two daughters, Jane and Frances; she left Cowridge End farm to her daughter Mrs Jane Cart, and another farm in Church Street, Luton, to her daughter Mrs Frances Ashton, and the two properties were left by those ladies as part of the foundation of two excellent charities at Dunstable, called respectively "Cart's Charity" and "Ashton's Charity." Davis says that the farm at Cowridge, above described, was at one time occupied as a pest-house for people of "the

better class." It is still the property of Cart's Charity, and will, it is stated, shortly be offered for sale for building purposes.

The property at Cowridge End, on the south side of the lane, continued the property of the Crawley family, and now belongs to Mr Francis Crawley. The farmhouse is an interesting old place, and has some splendid old oak beams. A few years ago the last remains of some very old trees stood in front of this house. Amongst the most interesting objects to be seen on this property are enormous boulders of conglomerate stone, which provide interesting object-lessons to our local geologists, lying as they do some five hundred feet above the level of the sea, and two hundred feet above the valley of the Lea. People at Cowridge End solemnly assure us that these stones are "still growing."

The place called Cowridge End is that referred to in Baldwin de Bethune's deed of confirmation of the rights of the Abbot of St. Albans, where he mentions a copse as extending as far as the road of the copse of "Curegge." A portion of Cowridge End farm belonging to Mr Francis

Crawley, including the last-mentioned house, has quite recently (January 1910) been sold for development for building purposes, and new roads are being laid out.

In 1582, from Crawley Papers numbered 51 to 55, all relating to purchases of lands in Blackwater Field, Luton, we find the following Crawleys named as parties to the deeds of conveyance:—

John Crawley of Nether Crawley.

Richard Crawley of "le Pickes."

Thomas Crawley of "le Ferme."

William Crawley of Greathamstede.

Edward Crawley of Luton.

William Crawley of Stapulforde.

Thomas Crawley of King's Walden ; and

William How of Cowridge End, who married
a daughter of John Crawley.

They are all described as "yeomen."

John Crawley was the second son of Richard Crawley of Nether Crawley. He was admitted to the Guild of the Holy Trinity in 1546. Richard was a son of Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane. His farm, called "le Pickes," was probably the manor of Picks or Pykes, which in 1470 belonged to Lord Wenlock, who in that year held a court for the manors of

Luton, Langley, and Pykes (Marquis of Bute's MSS.). The name survives in Pykes Close, adjoining the Wesleyan Chapel in Chapel Street. We are aware that Davis gives another origin for the name of this close. The manor of Langleys was situate on the south side of Castle Street, and the name survives in Langley Street and Langley Road. William Crawley of Greathampstead was the elder brother of John Crawley of Nether Crawley; he was admitted to the Trinity Guild in 1546. Edward Crawley of Luton was a son of Crawley of Greathampstead (Crawley Paper No. 118). William Crawley of Stapulforde was another son. Stapulforde was a place near Luton Hoo, and appears marked as a village in Luton, in a map of Hertfordshire, 1625, in Camden's *Britannia*. It is now merged in Luton Loo Park.

Blackwater Field was one of the common fields of Luton, and lay on the south side of Lea Road, then called Blackwater Lane.

One of the brothers of the Richard Crawley of Nether Crawley, No. 5 in the pedigree, was Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane, Luton. He was a maltster, and owned several properties

in Luton ; the following is a copy we have made of his will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Register Terwhite, 6 :—

*Will of Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane in
Luton in the County of Bedford.*

15th January 1581-2.

Commends his soul into the hands of God and his body to the earth.

“Item, I give to the reparation of Luton Church, tenne shillings. To my godchildren, three shillings fower pence apiece. To William and Thomas Paret, my wife’s sonnes, forty shillings apiece. I give to Thomas my sonne, the howse wherein I dwell withe fowrtie acres of lande (that is, tenne acres at Hagdell, eight acres in Wynsden Bottome, six acres in Saywell Field, tenne acres in Bridgefield and six acres in Double Hedges); to have and to holde to him and his heires forever. I give unto him all the wood in his yard, five p(ecks) of pease and tenne quarters of barley, together with all that which he is in possession of: I give to Richard my sonne, my house at Townsende with two acres in Maydenfield, three acres in Baracles Bushe, and all my lands not bequeathed before in Saywell Field; to have and to houlde to him and his heires forever. I give to Abraham my sonne, six acres at Buckstans Wood Hill, two acres at Eldernestubbe, and two acres more in Burgefield, being a hedding piece; to have and to

houlde to him and his heires for ever, and he is to enter at one and twenty years of age. And in the meantyme, Elizabeth my wife to have it, bringing upp the said Abraham. My will is that my said wife during her life shall have two loftes with two chimneys in the house at the Townsende at her choyse. I give unto Mary my daughter, twenty nobles. I will to Alice Haughton, twenty nobles owte of my movables. To Elizabeth Pruddon, tenne poundes out of my bandes (bonds). To Paule Payne, eight poundes owte of my movables. I will that all my movable goods ungiven (except debts by bandes and bills due and to be due) be divided into two parts, one parte whereof I give to Elizabeth my wife, and the other parte amongst my children unmarried equally to be distributed. And yf any dye, his or theire portion so departing before lawful age, to remaine to the said survivours of my children equallie to be divided. I give to Elizabeth my wife, Richard, Abraham, Elizabeth and Judith my children, all those debtes as are or shall be due by bills or bandes, equallie to be distributed amongst them, saving that my will is that Abraham have twentie poundes more than any of the other fower above named."

Thomas Parett "my brother," of Shidlington, and Richard "my sonne" appointed executors, and Thomas "my sonne" overseer, each of them to have 20s. apiece.

Witnesses: William Horne, Vicar of Luton, Thomas Crawleye, "marke of the garde," Richard

The Crawley-Boevey Family 99

Crawley, "marke of the pyx," Thomas Winche, and Robert Longes. Proved 3rd February 1581-2.

It is from this Thomas Crawléy that the Crawley-Boevey family of Flaxley Abbey trace their descent. In a later chapter we give the pedigree of this branch of the Crawley family.

From the foregoing notes of purchases made by members of the family, it is clear that in 1582 there were no fewer than eight of the Crawleys living in or near Luton, who were substantial yeomen farming their own lands, and several of them carrying on also the business of malting. In the following century we shall find that nearly the whole of the possessions of this numerous family had passed into the hands of the then head of the family, that the practice of dividing real estate amongst sons was discontinued, and the head of the family was classed among the principal landowners of the county.

CHAPTER V

John Crawley of Nether Crawley (No. 6), and Thomas Crawley his Son (No. 7 in the Pedigree)—The Manors of "Haverings," "Stopsley," and "Dallow"—Lammers Farm and Ramridge End.

WE have seen that the will of Richard Crawley was made in 1551; but as the probate of that will was dated the 26th January 1578, it is probable that Richard Crawley lived about twenty-six or twenty-seven years after he made his will. It is therefore necessary to explain certain seeming discrepancies between the provisions of his will and the Crawley Papers. The will purported to devise the manor of "Plenties" to his eldest son, William; but from the Crawley Papers it is clear that William sold Plenties in the year 1568, ten years before his father's death. Richard Crawley must therefore have anticipated the operation of his will by executing a grant of Plenties to his son William some time between the years 1551 and 1568.

The Manor of Haverings 101

Richard Crawley lived to see his sons William and John investing in properties of greater extent and value than anything that had been acquired by him or any of his ancestors. Four years after William purchased the manor of Greathampstead, his brother John in 1568 bought a fine property near Nether Crawley called the manor of "Haverings," a property distinct from "Haverings Holy," which had been in the family for generations. There are records of the purchase of Haverings in Crawley Papers Nos. 19 and 514, and also in some Court Rolls of the manor of Luton which are still in the possession of the Marquis of Bute. The mansion of Haverings was an imposing edifice. We have seen an old print of this house, in the possession of Mr Frederick Thurston of Luton.

At the time Haverings was transferred to John Crawley it had been divided into two messuages. Davis states that the family lived there for several generations, and that Thomas Crawley, Sir Francis Crawley, and the second Francis all died there. It is, of course, possible that they converted the two houses again into a single tenement and resided in it, but in no

deed of that time, or at any subsequent date, do we find any member of the family described as "of Haverings." There is no tradition in the family that they lived at Haverings, and we have failed to trace any authority for the statement made by Davis. Up to 1633, the owner of Haverings continued to be described as "of Nether Crawley." In 1633, and thenceforward to 1649, Sir Francis was described as "of Someries." Succeeding Crawleys, until the year 1740, lived away from Luton ; but on the completion of the new mansion, called "Stockwood," they settled there, and it has been their residence ever since.

The situation of Haverings was a little to the east of Nether Crawley, on the road from Luton to Cockernhoe. Every vestige of the old place, excepting the site of an orchard and a quantity of bricks which are still from time to time turned up by the plough, has long since disappeared. The description of Haverings in Crawley Paper No. 514 is:—

"Two messuages, two gardens, 300 acres of arable land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, and £5 of rents from tenants in Luton"—in all, upwards of 700 acres.

The Manor of Haverings 103

In the Court Rolls of the Manor of Luton it is described as "the moiety of the manor of Haverings." The other part was called "the moiety of the manor of Stopsley." It would seem, therefore, that at one time the two properties formed a single manor. The moiety called Stopsley followed an entirely different line of descent, but some time before 1772 must have been acquired by the Crawleys, as in that year John Crawley settled the "manor of Stopsley," presumably including both moieties, on his marriage.

The history of the Haverings portion from the year 1258, when Richard de Havering held it, is traced in the *Victorian History of Bedfordshire*. In 1262 John de Havering owned it. His son, Richard de Havering, obtained a charter of free warren in his demesne of Stopsley in the year 1348. In 1402 it passed from the Haverings to William Butler, whose descendants held it for the next century. In 1525 Thomas Butler conveyed it to Sir Henry Wyatt and others, and it was described as "half the manor of Stoppesley alias Haveryngs." In 1534 it belonged to one Richard Fermor, but on account of that gentle-

man's "contempts of the King" it escheated to the Crown, and was granted by King Henry VIII. in 1543 to Sir Thomas Barnardiston. His son Thomas conveyed it, as before mentioned, to John Crawley of Nether Crawley, in the year 1568. From a plea in Chancery of Alice Crawley, widow of the said John Crawley, in 1599 (P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, Series II., Bundle 264, No. 28) we learn that John Crawley's son Thomas married Dorothy Edgerley in the year 1575, and that "for the advancement of the said Thomas, on his said marriage, John Crawley settled on him his manor of Haverings, etc." It has remained in the Crawley family ever since, but, like other manors of theirs, no evidence can be found that the Crawleys ever held a court in respect of the manor. It is now merged in Nether Crawley and other farms on the Crawley estate. The division of the mansion-house into two separate tenements doubtless took place when Richard Fermor lost the estate. Neither Sir Thomas Barnardiston nor his son lived there, and the object of the subdivision of the mansion and the estate was for the convenience of letting it

to farmers. A similar subdivision of the house and lands of Plenties was made after the Crawleys ceased to live there.

The other moiety of Stopsley manor was a separate property, as above stated, as early as 1258. At that time it belonged to the Hoo family of Luton-Hoo, Lilley-Hoo, and Kimpton-Hoo. In 1291 the Hoo's obtained a charter of free warren in their demesne lands in Stopsley. By the year 1416 it had passed from the Hoo family, and belonged to Edward Beassington, alias Stopsley, from whom it went to John Gedney. In 1573 it belonged to Thomas Catesby, who sold it, about 1593, to Edward Docwra. In 1617 Thomas Docwra obtained a confirmation of his right of free warren in this manor. We have no precise knowledge of when it was acquired by the Crawley family, but it is certain it was vested in them before the year 1772, and that it has since that time been merged in the other possessions of the family. We have endeavoured to trace the probable situation of the manor-house of this manor, but can only conjecture that it was situate at Ramridge End, which adjoins Haverings and Nether Crawley.

106 A Bedfordshire Family

The Thomas Catesby above mentioned was of the same family as the Catesby who figured so prominently in Shakespeare's play of *Richard III*. He was seneschal of the abbots of St Albans. Thomas Docwra belonged to an old family of landowners in Luton. Several of the family lie buried in Luton Church.

Of the manor of Haverings we can glean some further light from Crawley Paper No. 19, the rent-roll of the manor of Haverings, then spelt "Haverhynges," in the year 1544. The manor at that time belonged to Thomas Barnardiston. The roll is incomplete, and gives the names of only seven tenants, and the number of hereditaments held by them was nine. We give the names of the tenants and their properties, as they are of local interest:—

Thomas Jakys, lands in Eveley field, Howfield
and Darleybrake field, all in Stopsley.

Edward Spycer, land in Howfield.

Robert Perott, land in Ramridgehill field.

William Arden, guardian of . . . Thrale, daughter
and heiress of George Thrale, land in the
same field.

Thomas Kylby, an enclosed pasture called Bromys-
crofte.

William Smyth, a messuage and garden, and John Crawley. The name or situation of this hold- is illegible.

Thomas Crawley (No. 7), son of John Crawley of Nether Crawley, in the year 1586, some ten or twelve years before his father's death, made an important addition to the family estates by the purchase of the manor of "Dallow" in Luton. Mr Cobbe, in his comments on a portion of this estate, has fallen into a slight error. He says the purchase must have been as early as 1568, because certain meadows near Luton Church, part of the manor of Dallow, formed part of the dowry of John Crawley's wife. If they had been settled on his first wife, there is no question the purchase must have been made as early as 1568, the date assigned to it by Mr Cobbe. The truth is that John Crawley married twice, and that the meadows in question formed part of the dowry of the second wife. From Crawley Paper No. 66, it appears that the manor of Dallow was purchased by Thomas Crawley, and not by his father; that shortly afterwards Thomas Crawley detached the meadows near

108 A Bedfordshire Family

Luton Church from the rest of the manor, and granted them to his father, who thereupon charged them and his farms of Lammers and Ramridge with the payment of his second wife's dowry.

The history of the manor of Dallow is interesting and curious, and is an excellent illustration of the continuity of church endowments before the Reformation. As all traces of this manor are being rapidly obliterated by the laying out of new streets and the erection of houses, we will give some particulars of the lands included within the manor, and of their history and devolution.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, a Saxon priest named Morcar held of the King the following properties mentioned in the Domesday Survey of William the Conqueror, namely :—

1. The church of Luton, with the lands (720 acres) appurtenant to the church.
2. The church of Houghton Regis, with 60 acres of land.
3. In Battlesden, 60 acres of land.
4. In Potsgrove, 240 acres ; and
5. In Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, 240 acres.

William the Chamberlain 109

It is evident that Morcar, for a country clergyman of his time, was a wealthy man.

William the Conqueror dispossessed Morcar, and gave to William, his chamberlain, the five properties above mentioned, with the following other properties :—

In Totternhoe, Bedfordshire, 720 acres.

Land in Wincot, Gloucestershire.

The joint farm of a Crown estate in Cambridgeshire.

Lands in Stepney, near London ; and

Lands in Essex.

All these estates were granted by the Conqueror “in pure and perpetual alms,” *i.e.* without rent, suit, or service.

Mr Cobbe thought that William the chamberlain must have been an ordained clergyman, because he held the churches at Luton and Houghton Regis, but there appears no other warrant for the supposition. The truth seems to have been that the chamberlain was a layman, that he had a son, also named William, that the son inherited his father's office and all these properties, and was taxed for them by “knights' services.” To give two churches and their temporalities to a layman was an

arbitrary and extraordinary proceeding for even such a man as William the Conqueror, and it is not surprising that it led to much scandal in the Church, and subsequent grounds for conscientious scruples on the part of powerful laymen. It was not, however, an isolated instance of the despotic diversion of church property, as we find the endowments of the church of St Peter's at Colchester were also granted to one or more laymen. In any case, it is an instructive illustration of the temptation presented in those times, and repeated in more than one subsequent period of the history of England, of valuable church endowments.

The church manor of Luton, as described in the Domesday Survey, we extract from the *Victorian History of Bedfordshire*, vol. ii. p. 222:—

The church of this manor (*i.e.* the manor of Luton) is held by William, the King's chamberlain, with five hides of land which belong to it. These five hides are part of the thirty hides of the manor. There is land in them for six ploughs. On the demesne is one and the villeins have five. There are eleven villeins and four bordars, and three serfs and one mill worth ten shillings. The church yields twenty shillings yearly.

There is woodland to feed fifty swine. In all it is, and was, worth sixty shillings. The church with its land Morcar the priest held in the time of King Edward.

The church was rated at five hides, but there was land in them for six ploughs, which, allowing 120 acres to each plough, gives a total of 720 acres, besides woods. Mr Cobbe has devoted much care and research in his endeavour to identify these lands, and with the valuable assistance of his notes, to be found in the appendices to his *History of the Church of Luton*, supplemented by our own study of the tithe commutation award and map, we give the following schedule of the lands included in the category of church lands in the time of Edward the Confessor, and of the Domesday Survey of William I., and at the time of the dissolution of St Albans Monastery in the reign of Henry VIII.:—

In the Hamlet of Limbury-cum-Biscot.

No. on the Tithe Map.	Description of Lands.	Extent.		
		a.	r.	p.
355	Dallow Lands	46	0	24
356	Damers	7	2	24
	(Belonging to Mr Macnamara.)			

112 A Bedfordshire Family

No. on the Tithe Map.	Description of Lands.	Extent.		
		a.	r.	p.
350	Thirty Acres . . .	28	2	21
351	Middle Field . . .	31	2	29
352	Little Penfield . . .	12	1	5
353	Great Penfield . . .	22	2	12
354	Gorrell Hill . . .	22	1	23
357	Runley Field . . .	9	3	29
358	„ Spring . . .	4	1	10
359	„ „ . . .	0	3	20
359 ^a	„ Wood . . .	2	3	3
360	„ Field . . .	1	1	7
361	„ Spring . . .	2	2	23
362	„ Wood Close . . .	22	1	30
363	Dollar Downs . . .	27	2	6
364	Toppins Piece . . .	20	1	8
365	Fourteen Acres . . .	12	0	32
366	Twenty-eight Acres . . .	31	0	25
367	Great Barber's Field . . .	44	2	30
367 ^a	Lane by Great Barber's . . .	0	1	27
368	Wheatcock Close . . .	7	1	22
369	Wellhouse Close . . .	6	1	18
370	Farm Homestead . . .	0	3	39
371	Home Close . . .	5	0	36
372	Part of Great Field . . .	11	3	30
373	Part of Garden . . .	0	0	26
374	Rick Yard . . .	0	2	21
375	Part of Six-acre Meadow . . .	5	3	34
376	Long Mead . . .	2	2	0

The Manor of Dallow 113

No. on the Tithe Map.	Description of Lands.	Extent.		
		a.	r.	p.
377	Barber's Field . . .	13	1	38
378	Winches Dollar Mead . . .	3	0	13
379	Winches Dollars . . .	15	1	21
380	" " . . .	17	0	25
381	" " . . .	11	2	20
382	" " . . .	9	0	1
383	" " . . .	11	0	39
384	" " . . .	11	2	8
385	" " . . .	12	2	6
386	" " . . .	11	2	22

In Limbury, near Luton Church.

387	Dallow Mead . . .	1	0	11
388	" " . . .	2	2	7
1113	Pondwick's Mead }	1	1	28
1114	Church River Piece }			

In Stopsley.

903	Lower Orchard . . .	1	1	26
904	Homestead . . .	0	0	34
904a	Homestead, etc. . .	0	1	14
905	Orchard . . .	1	2	0
906	Garden . . .	0	0	12
907	Orchard . . .	0	1	38
909a	Greenway . . .	0	0	11
910	Holly Close . . .	1	3	7
911	" " . . .	2	1	8

114 A Bedfordshire Family

No. on the Tithe Map.	Description of Lands.	Extent.		
		a.	r.	p.
912	Little Field . . .	1	1	29
913	" " . . .	1	3	17
914	" " . . .	1	2	26
915	St Anne's Field . . .	9	1	36
916	Tinpot Close . . .	5	1	25
917	Great Close . . .	5	1	28
918	Slip . . .	0	2	12
919	Top Orchard . . .	0	3	23
920	Crawley Green Close . . .	8	2	26

In Luton, near Chaul End.

1327	Chambers . . .	14	2	30
1327a	Plantation . . .	1	0	13
1328	Part of Great Field . . .	24	1	36
1328a	Little Chambers . . .	13	0	8
1329	Part of Field . . .	0	3	30
1330	Bush Wood . . .	2	0	8
1331	Daniels . . .	6	0	26
1332	Budgerdell Wood . . .	6	3	0
1333	Chaul End Wood . . .	4	2	8
1334	Barnard Wood . . .	3	3	24
1335	Upper Blossom Hill . . .	16	1	3
1336	Lower Blossom Hill . . .	12	1	10
1337	Inions Hill . . .	11	0	10
1338	Inions Spring . . .	2	3	30
1339	Inions Grove . . .	11	3	26
1340	Chaul End Grove . . .	11	0	7

No. on the Tithe Map.	Description of Lands.	Extent.		
		a.	r.	p.
1343	Castle Croft Spring .	2	2	17
1344	Castle Croft . . .	16	0	23

Totals.

	a.	r.	p.
In Limbury, near Chaul End .	509	3	7
In Limbury, near Luton Church .	5	0	6
In Stopsley, at Crawley Green .	43	2	12
In Luton, near Chaul End .	161	3	29
	<u>720</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>14</u>

Here, then, we have the "land for six plough-teams," making together 720 acres—lands which upon investigation bear the characteristic of rectorial lands, as having been, from their earliest history, free from the payment of the rectorial or great tithe. If for no other reason, they would have enjoyed immunity from liability to that charge by virtue of their having belonged to the abbots of St Albans prior to the date of the "Lateran" Council of 1179-80.

The land No. 915, called St Anne's Field, containing 9 acres 1 rood 36 poles, was attached to

116 A Bedfordshire Family

the free chapel of St Anne, which was erected, together with a summer residence, for the abbots of St Albans, at the same time that Luton Church was built, namely, between 1121 and 1131. We have very little information as to this chapel, but early itineraries mention "the tower" as a "fayre summer place" of residence of the abbots of St Albans. The chapel is referred to in the "Particulars of Leases of the Time of Elizabeth and James" (Record Office) as "now destroyed and wholly devastated," but maintained within five years of the statute. The tower does not appear to have been pulled down until many years later. In the present year (1910) one of the allotment holders on St Ann's Hill, on land which was part of St Anne's Field, belonging to Mr Francis Crawley, came upon the foundations of a building composed of large portions of Totternhoe stone interspersed with brickwork of Norman construction. Amongst other pieces of stone was the carved capital of a pillar. The carving is that of the "inverted cornu," and has been described by Mr James A. Gotch, F.S.A., as an excellent piece of early twelfth-century work. There

seems no reason to doubt that we have here the site of the above-mentioned chapel and residence. We quote the following mention of this place from Grose's *Antiquities of England*, published about 1773:—

St Ann's Chapel and Tower.

“This tower is reputed to be of great antiquity. It was the summer residence of the abbots of St Albans. After the dissolution of religious houses it was purchased by the family of Napier, and is now the property of the Earl of Bute. The tower was very high and of great strength, and within it a spiral slope which served for ascending to the top instead of stairs. It is said to have been entire when purchased by Sir John Napier, who nearly fifty years ago (1720) began to pull it down, and there was then found a whispering place communicating from the bottom to the top. By the remains of this tower and its appendages it seems to have been a very extensive building.

Some people have foolishly confounded the “tower” on St Ann's Hill with the castle at Someries. The “tower” was a twelfth-century building, and Someries Castle belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The other lands belonging to Morcar, the

118 A Bedfordshire Family

priest of the church of Luton, as described in the Survey, were:—

At Battlesden: land rated at half a hide. There was land in the half-hide for half a plough (60 acres). It was worth (at the Survey) five shillings, and in the time of King Edward seven shillings. Morcar could sell this property.

At Potsgrove: land held of the King rated at one hide. There was land for one plough (120 acres), and meadow sufficient for a plough team (120 acres). It was (at the Survey) worth fifteen shillings, but in King Edward's time forty shillings. Morcar could sell this property.

At Hertswell (Hartwell), a place in Buckinghamshire, two miles from Aylesbury: land rated at two hides. There were two carucates (240 acres). It was (at the Survey) worth thirty shillings.

The church and 60 acres of land at Houghton Regis were not mentioned as having belonged to Morcar, but it is clear they were given by King William to his chamberlain, and that at a subsequent period they were attached to the manor of Biscot by the abbots of St Albans.

In the reign of Henry I. (1100–1135) the

manor of Luton was, as it had been from time immemorial, *Terra Regis*, part of the heritage of the Kings of England, as Kings of England and not as private individuals, and the above-mentioned church lands were held of the King's manor of Luton by William Chamberlain, junior. Henry I. gave the manor of Luton to his son Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and hence we find, from various records, that these same church lands were held of this great warrior and statesman in his capacity of lord of the manor of Luton. Earl Robert was not only a warrior and statesman, but he was a pious man and sincerely attached to the Church of England. One of his first acts, after taking possession of his property at Luton, was to rebuild the church at Luton, probably the first stone church erected there. To a man such as we know Earl Robert to have been, it was a grave scandal that the churches of Luton and Houghton Regis and the other church property above mentioned should be in the hands of a layman, and he set himself to correct the abuse. Vested interests, however, were as stubborn facts to deal with then as they have been at all times of our

history, and his efforts to wrest this property from the hands of William the Chamberlain met with a stolid and persistent opposition. From the *Gesta Abbatum* we learn that the younger William the Chamberlain asserted that he held these churches "hereditarily," and it is certain he succeeded to the other possessions of the first William as his son and heir. What really happened is extremely difficult to follow. It is clear that, on the death of William Chamberlain the elder, Earl Robert, as lord of the manor of Luton, received from William Chamberlain the younger the accustomed service of half a knight's fee in respect of these church lands. In the face of this it is difficult to understand the statements of the chronicler that William unjustly seized the church and kept it by violence. Earl Robert, however, with the consent of King Stephen, made a grant of the church to a Norman kinsman of his, Gilbert de Cymmay, clerk, one of the King's chaplains, and Gilbert was presented to the Bishop of Lincoln for institution.

The bishop was, however, unwilling to remove William the Chamberlain except in a legal

manner. The King's aid was solicited, and a writ was issued directing an inquisition to be held of the people of Luton. Upon their oaths the men of Luton declared that the church lands had been granted, at the first foundation of the church, in free alms, and were so held till the time of William the Chamberlain. It was thereupon decreed that William had no right to them. He was dispossessed, and in the month of June 1139 Gilbert was formally put in possession of the church with all its appurtenances. This transaction was confirmed by King Stephen.

In the reign of Henry II., Robert, eighteenth Abbot of St. Albans, besought William, Earl of Gloucester, son and heir of Earl Robert, to grant him the advowson of Luton Church, with all lands belonging to it, which was conceded on payment of eighty marks for the advowson and thirty marks for the redemption of the knight's fee. At last, after much importunity and negotiation, and subject to the rights of William the Chamberlain's wife to dower, and the adjustment of claims of other individuals, the King confirmed the grant to the Abbot of

122 A Bedfordshire Family

St Albans of the churches of Luton and Houghton Regis, and all the lands which William the Chamberlain had in Luton, Houghton, Hertswell, Battlesden, and Potsgrove; but the King declared that the surplus revenues should be devoted by the abbey to the entertainment of strangers. Hence the revenues of these properties went to the cellarer of the abbey, with the direction that the profits were to be employed "chiefly in providing for pilgrims to St Alban's shrine, for travellers and guests of the Abbot, and for the maintenance of two priests of good life, to be chosen by the convent to perform divine service in the church at Luton, etc."

Having obtained possession of the church of Luton and its lands, the abbots of St Albans appear to have given to the Luton church lands the name of the "Manor of Dallow," the derivation of which we have already mentioned.

Dallow Manor continued uninterruptedly the property of the abbots of St Albans, and one of their most valuable possessions, until the reign of Henry VIII. The history of the church at Houghton and the lands at Battlesden and

Descent of Dallow Manor 123

Potsgrove we need not follow here. Hertswell or Hartswell, as we have seen in the transcript of the Roll of the Manor of Dallow, in 1455 was still part and parcel of the manor. Upon the dissolution of the abbey in 1539, the manor became vested in the Crown, and was sold under statutory authority to Sir Thomas Barnardiston, whose son, in the year 1586, obtained licence from the Crown to sell it to Thomas Crawley.

Dallow Manor descended from Thomas Crawley to his son Francis, afterwards Sir Francis Crawley, Knight, who in 1605 divided it into two portions; one, comprising the lands near the church and the 43 acres on St Ann's Hill near Nether Crawley, he sold to Richard Scudamore, from whom it passed to Sir John Rotherham, who in 1615 sold it to Sir Robert Napier. It appears from a deed in the possession of the Marquis of Bute that the manor of Dallow as a franchise had been included in the sale of Luton Hoo estate. The inference is that the manor as a franchise, together with the 43 acres at Crawley Green, remained part of the Luton Hoo estate until about the year 1859, when the land at Crawley Green was sold back

to the Crawley family, but the manor as a franchise was retained by Lord Bute. The other portion, comprising the Dallow farmhouse and the lands in the direction of Chaul End, was sold by Sir Francis Crawley to Robert Faldo of North Mimms, who parted with it to Bernard Hale of King's Walden in 1640, in whose family it remained until the year 1858, when it was repurchased by Mr John Sambrook Crawley. It is now the property of his successor, Mr Francis Crawley. Part of these Dallow lands near Chaul End now belong to Mr John Macnamara, owner of an estate in the adjoining parish of Caddington; but when they were acquired by his predecessors we have been unable to trace.

The old manor-house, the Dallow farmhouse, was a picturesque old place, and has recently been pulled down to make way for new streets and houses. It was one of the houses in which, tradition states, John Bunyan found opportunity to preach to the Anabaptists of Luton when the meetings of Dissenters were proscribed. For many years the Dallow farm was held by a succession of substantial tenant-farmers of the

The Hales of King's Walden 125

names of Brett and Gutteridge, and it was on this farm that Mr Gutteridge, in 1830, picked up a flint implement which is said to have been the first of such implements identified in this country as the work of Neolithic man. It was presented by Mr Worthington G. Smith of Dunstable, author of *Primeval Man* and other scientific works, to the British Museum. Some of our earliest British and Saxon coins have also been found on this farm.

We may note that the wood referred to in Domesday Book was not included in the 720 acres. The wood for fifty hogs was situate on the top of Hart Hill, and was the "copse" mentioned in Baldwin de Bethune's deed in 1196, to which we have already alluded.

The family named Hale, who held the Dallow farm portion of Dallow manor from 1640 till 1858, lived for upwards of three hundred years at King's Walden, and were among the best known and most popular of the county families in that part of Hertfordshire. Like many other of our county families, the founder was a citizen and merchant of London. He was Richard Hale, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth purchased King's

Walden. It is said of him that he did many acts of charity—amongst others, the erection and endowment of a free school at Hertford, which exists at the present time. His son, William Hale, was Lord Mayor of London in 1588, and Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1621; he married Rose, the daughter of Sir George Bond, Kt. The property was described as “all that manor or lordship or reputed manor or lordship of Dallow and also all that messuage or farm called the Dallow farm in the parish of Luton, etc., containing by estimation 209 acres, formerly in the occupation of Joseph Gutteridge and now or late of John Brett. The said messuage farm and lands formerly part of the possessions of the Abbott of St. Albans.”

The present farmhouse was probably erected by the Hales in the reign of Charles I., but an earlier building was the residence of the younger William Chamberlain, who lived in Luton in the reign of Henry I.

It would be tedious to describe all the purchases of real estate made by John Crawley, but the last purchases of the kind were made in 1596, and are interesting for several reasons.

The Guild of the Holy Trinity 127

The properties we refer to are a farm called "Lammers" and another called "Ramridge End."

"Lammers" is associated with the family of Magister John Lammer, who was appointed to the vicarage of Luton in 1454 by John de Wheathamstead, Abbot of St Albans, and also with the William and Robert Crawley mentioned in the Rolls of Dallow Manor in 1455. Mr Cobbe, in his *History of Luton Church*, p. 159, suggests that the Lammers family of Luton were of the same family as the "Lamars," owners of the manor of Lamar, at Wheathamstead in the time of Henry III., and that the vicar, John Lammer, was the uncle of John Lamar of Luton, whose tomb in Luton Church is mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*: "a Brass in the Nave of Luton Church on the tomb of *John Lamar* and Elynor his wife 1512 lying near the Chancel doors."

The Rev. John Lammer was one of the original founders of the Guild of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin Mary, under a licence granted on the 12th May 1474 to Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln,

128 A Bedfordshire Family

John Rotherham, Esq., of Luton (brother of the Bishop), lord of the manor of Someries, John Acworth, Esq., of Biscot, John Lammer (vicar), and others. They were directed to found a chantry in connection with Luton Church, with two chaplains to officiate at the altars of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin in the southern part of the church. The chantry might be endowed with lands to the extent of £20 per annum, to be held in mortmain, as well for the maintenance of the chaplains of the Guild as for the augmentation of five other clerks celebrating divine offices in the church (Pat. Roll, 14 Edw. IV., Pt. I. m. 15). We have already made frequent reference to this Guild. Shaw, in his work on the chapel at Luton Hoo Park, states that this Guild became one of the most wealthy and splendid in the kingdom. The names of kings and queens, bishops, abbots, priors, and other persons of consequence were amongst its members and patrons.

The deed dated the 15th June 1476, Crawley Paper No. 3, to which we have already referred, is obviously a deed of trust, for the Fraternity of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, etc., and relates

to the two farms, namely, "Lammers" and "Ramridge End." The description in that deed is—

Two messuages, one hundred acres of arable land, four acres of meadow land, forty acres of pasture and eight acres of wood in Stoppesley within the soke of Luton.

The total extent was 152 acres. We think the object of this deed was to vest the property in trustees upon trust to convey the same according to the instructions that should be declared in the will of the Rev. John Lammer, Vicar of Luton. The Rev. John Lammer died on the 15th April 1477, and his death is recorded in the register of the Abbey of St Albans, where he is styled "*discretus vir.*" At that time the sub-prior of St Albans was Thomas Ramridge, afterwards 37th Abbot of St Albans, who was a nephew of the Rev. John Lammer. Wallingford, the 36th Abbot, gave Thomas Ramridge permission to act as executor of his uncle's will. We have not seen this will, but we think the probability is that it directed that the above-mentioned property of 152 acres should be divided, one moiety to go to the Guild

of the Holy Trinity, and the other to the Ramridge family; and our reason for thinking so is that, from the death of John Lammer in 1477 to the time of the dissolution of the Guild, the farm of Lammers belonged to the Guild, while the adjoining property, known as "Ramridge End," belonged to the Ramridge family, with Cowridge End and other lands in that vicinity. After the dissolution of the Guild, namely, in 1588, one Robert Burr petitioned Queen Elizabeth for, and obtained, leave to purchase "Lammers" and other property of the dissolved Guild. Who was this Robert Burr? Crawley Paper No. 72 gives us the following information. In 1587 the last male of the Ramridges died, and by his will, dated the 30th September of that year, constituted Robert Burr his heir and sole executor. This Robert Burr, in 1587, under the will of the last Thomas Ramridge, acquired Ramridge End farm by the gift of Thomas Ramridge, and in the following year, by the licence of Queen Elizabeth, he purchased "Lammers Farm."

Nearly six years later, Michael and William Burr conveyed both properties to Edward

Hubbard, Esq., and in 1596 the said Edward Hubbard, with his son and heir, Francis, afterwards Sir Francis Hubbard, conveyed them to John Crawley and his son Thomas. The Crawleys were not satisfied with the title to these farms, so it was agreed, upon the transfer of the property, that, if the vendors should procure from the true heirs of Thomas Ramridge a confirmation of the conveyance of the Ramridge End property, Thomas Crawley should pay a further sum of £60. This arrangement was duly carried out by deeds of the 39th Elizabeth, the 40th Elizabeth, and the 5th James, and again in the 9th James by a final deed poll of Sir Francis Hubbard. From these deeds we learn that the heirs of Thomas Ramridge were Ruth Rogers, a sister of Thomas Ramridge, and Agnes Dormer, another sister of Thomas Ramridge.

The old house at Ramridge End stood in the meadows between Round Green and Nether Crawley—a pleasant situation, where stand at the present time some keepers' cottages. The situation bears distinct evidence of having been the site of a good-sized house. A few old

132 A Bedfordshire Family

inhabitants recollect the house, and the fact of its having been pulled down rather more than sixty years ago. Its latest occupant was a straw-plait merchant of the name of Barker.

John Crawley died at a good old age on the 26th March 1598, and was buried in Luton Church, having in his generation raised his family from the status of "yeomen" to that of "esquires." He left his son Thomas his heir, and a daughter who married William Howe of Cowridge End, yeoman. This daughter is not mentioned in the Crawley pedigree in the *Visitations of Bedfordshire*. These *Visitations* were the work of officers of the College of Arms, who went from county to county collecting information of the pedigrees of families entitled to bear arms. The visits to Bedfordshire were made in the years 1566, 1582, 1634, and 1669. In the pedigrees above alluded to, John Crawley is stated to have had three children, namely, Thomas Crawley, a daughter Florence, married to William Smyth, D.C.L., and another daughter, Frances, married to John Grover, of Leicestershire. It is clear that John Crawley had a daughter

Marriage of Thomas Crawley 133

married to William Howe of Cowridge End, as the fact is mentioned in a Chancery plea to which reference will be made in the next chapter. It is possible that she was not living at the time of the visitation of 1582.

Twenty-three years before the death of John Crawley, namely, in 1575, his son Thomas Crawley made the first considerable alliance that we know of in the history of the family. He married Dorothy Edgerley, daughter and co-heiress of John Edgerley, Esquire, of Milton, in the county of Oxford. According to an Inquisition Post Mortem, Chancery Series II., vol. 256, No. 29, Thomas Crawley, at the date of his father's death, the 26th March 1598, was "forty years old and more." We think he must have been certainly more than forty. In the Chancery pleadings above alluded to Thomas Crawley himself states that his marriage took place twenty-four years before the date of the bill in Chancery. The bill was dated 15th May 1599. If that were correct, he would have been only seventeen when he married.

At the time of his father's death Thomas Crawley was living at "The Dallow." After

134 A Bedfordshire Family

the death of his father he is described as of "Nether Crawley," where he continued to reside until his death. These facts are quite at variance with the assertion of Davis that Thomas Crawley lived and died at Haverings.

CHAPTER VI

Trouble with John Crawley's Widow—Plea in Chancery—Thomas Crawley of "Haverings" and "The Dallow"—His Son Francis Crawley a Law Student—Purchase of the "Court House" and Lands—Marriage of Francis Crawley and Elizabeth Rotherham—Buys Messuage and Land at Crawley Green—Complaint to the Council of the pulling down of Houses in Luton—Made "Serjeant."

SHORTLY after John Crawley's death his executors had serious trouble with his widow, John Crawley's second wife. She filed a plea in Chancery on the 15th May 1599. The following is a short abstract of her petition and of Thomas Crawley's answer:—

The complaint of Alice Crawley, widow of John Crawley of Nether Crawley, in the parish of Luton. States that the said John Crawley, in his lifetime, namely, about eleven years ago (1588), being a widower, became "an earnest sutor" to the complainer, who was the widow of Thomas Dermer, then lately deceased. The complainant was then seised, for life, of land and of goods to the value of £300.

136 A Bedfordshire Family

She agreed to marry John Crawley, and the marriage was solemnised at Luton.

After their marriage John Crawley purchased other lands "of great yearly value" and in consequence fell into debt and persuaded the complainant to dispose of her dower in order to obtain money to pay his debts, undertaking to recompense her in his will. By this he left her £100 and "plate, household stuffe, and other goods at a great value," and £40 a year out of his lands, etc. He delivered this will to the complainant to keep until his death, suspecting that some of his children or their friends would, after his death, "deceave" her of what she was entitled to, as indeed "now falleth out."

Shortly after his will was made, John Crawley, "being old and weake and not likely to live long," Thomas Crawley, his eldest son and heir apparent, and William Howe, who had married a daughter of the said John Crawley, "endeavoured how they might deceave the complainant, and procured" one Mr Brockett, Vicar of Luton, to get the will from the complainant, in order to have it "better confirmed" and to get it witnessed. She thereupon gave up the will, and then Thomas Crawley and John Howe wrote a new will, omitting most of the benefits to the complainant, and induced the said John Crawley to put his "hand and mark" thereto, "in the dark evening, without reading the same."

Shortly after, in March 1598, the said John Crawley died, and Thomas Crawley and *John* Howe

thereupon entered upon John Crawley's property, and refused to prove the real will. The complainant therefore prays for relief.

The Answer of Thomas Crawley.

States, *inter alia*, that twenty-four years before the date of the bill, namely, about 1574, the said John Crawley's first wife was alive, and that then, for the advancement of the said defendant Thomas Crawley, the said John's eldest son, on his marriage with Dorothy, one of the daughters and heirs of John Edgerley, the said defendant's now wife, he, the said John, conveyed to him, the said defendant Thomas Crawley, the manor of Haverings, etc.

He denies that the complainant had advanced money to the said John Crawley, and asserts that he, the said John, had once stated to him, the said Thomas, that the complainant was not worth £50. Denies the story of the two wills.

There was also an answer filed by William Howe to the like effect.

Wild allegations of fraud and wrong-doing, such as those set up by Alice Crawley, have been common enough in the history of families. They are rarely proved, or capable of proof, and in the above case they were in the highest degree improbable. The Mr Brockett referred to was

138 A Bedfordshire Family

the Rev. Edmund Brockett, M.A., Vicar of Luton from 1594 to 1617, in which year he was appointed Rector of Graveley in Hertfordshire. It is not conceivable that he should have been a party to such a transaction. The assertion that John Crawley had fallen into debt is not consistent with the fact above recorded, that in 1596 he purchased the "Lammers" and "Ramridge End" properties at a cost representing in money value at the present day the sum of £4000, and there is no evidence in his will or in the Inquisition Post Mortem that he was in debt at the time of his death. We do not know if the case ever went before the court for trial. We think not, but that a compromise was arrived at, as in the following year, the 10th May 1600, Alice Crawley released to Thomas Crawley certain meadows at "Pondwycks" and other lands from her dower.

We get some further light on the provision made by John Crawley for his widow from the Inquisition above mentioned concerning the lands of the said John Crawley, dated the 7th December 1598, taken at Ampthill before the Escheator for the county of Bedford (Inquisition

Post Mortem, Chancery Series II., vol. 256, No. 29), which tells us that John Crawley granted on the 8th March 1597, by his charter, to John Smith and John Attwood, one annual rent issuing out of certain lands of the said John Crawley at Chiltern Green, Luton, and the above-mentioned properties of Lammers and Ramridge End at Stopsley, payable during the life of the said John, and after his death, and during the life of his wife Alice Crawley, to the use of the said Alice Crawley, with remainder to John Crawley's eldest son, Thomas. From this Inquisition it is clear that, after John Crawley's death, Alice Crawley was possessed of an income out of her husband's lands equivalent to £600 a year in value at the present time.

The release executed by Alice Crawley, in the year 1600, of her interest, as John Crawley's widow, in the "Pondwycke Meadows" appears to have been arranged for the purpose of enabling Thomas Crawley to lease them to Richard Scudamore. The subsequent devolution of these interesting meadows, which for centuries had formed a detached portion of the manor of Dallow, was that Sir Francis Crawley

in 1625 sold them to Sir Robert Napier, owner of Luton Hoo. They continued part of the Luton Hoo estate until the sale of that property by the late Marquis of Bute. The Marquis retained these meadows, and they were not sold by the Bute Trustees until about twenty years ago. They now form the greater part of the district covered by Pondwicks Road, Balmforth's boiler-works, and the Great Northern Railway coal-yards.

On the 6th April 1584 there was born to Thomas Crawley and his wife, Dorothy Edgerley, a son who was destined to occupy a conspicuous place in the history of England in the days immediately preceding the outbreak of the war between Charles I. and his Parliament. Francis Crawley, at the early age of fourteen years, was entered a student both at Staple Inn and Gray's Inn, London.

The principal family resident in Luton in the sixteenth century was undoubtedly the family of Rotherham of Someries Castle. Sir John Rotherham was a serjeant-at-law, and it was probably on his advice, and under his protection, that Francis Crawley entered the profession of the law. We cannot say if the young

lawyer went to either of the universities, as we have not succeeded in tracing his name in the records of either Oxford or Cambridge ; but it is stated on the authority of Lloyd, in his memoirs of those who suffered for the Protestant religion, that Francis Crawley's "dexterity in logic at the university promised him an able pleader at the Inns of Court." We think the dexterity referred to was more likely to have been exhibited in the "Mock-trials" which were an important feature in the training of students at Gray's Inn. The opportunities afforded to Sir John Rotherham of forming a correct estimate of the character and prospects of his young friend were not limited to their intercourse in the Inns of Court or in the practice of their profession ; being such near neighbours at Luton, we can readily picture Francis Crawley to have been a frequent visitor at the Castle. Love is said to be pretty much a matter of propinquity, but in those days young people of position in society were not allowed to form their own attachments : matrimonial alliances were matters for arrangement between the heads of families. In the year 1608, when Francis Crawley was about twenty-

four years of age, a marriage was arranged and consummated between Francis Crawley and Elizabeth Rotherham, daughter of Sir John Rotherham. In the *Magna Britannia*, by Daniel and Samuel Lysons, it is stated that "Someries came to the Crawleys by the marriage of Sir John Rotherham's daughter with Sir Francis Crawley," and the authority given for the statement is the Bedfordshire pedigrees in the British Museum. Davis, who was indebted to the *Magna Britannia* for most of his facts in the ancient history of Luton, has copied from Lysons; Cobbe says that Sir John Rotherham parted with Someries to his son-in-law, Sir Francis Crawley, in 1629, and the *Victorian History of Bedfordshire* states that Sir John sold it to Sir Francis in 1629. We shall show later on that the above statements were erroneous, and that the property was sold to Thomas Crawley. Our object in mentioning the subject here is to make it clear that Someries was not acquired by Francis Crawley on his marriage with Elizabeth Rotherham, but that the Rotherhams remained in possession of Someries upwards of twenty years after the marriage.

The Court House and Close 143

It is, however, certain that Sir John Rotherham, whether from necessity or not we cannot say, shortly after the marriage of his daughter in 1608, began selling his property in Luton, and that in 1629, when he parted with Someries he completely severed his connection with Luton. His first sale, of which we have a note, was in the year 1611, when he sold to his son-in-law Francis Crawley, and Thomas Crawley of Nether Crawley, certain properties, the description of which is of such local interest that we give a full abstract of the deed, No. 129 of the Crawley Papers :—

16 June, 9 James I.

Conveyance by Sir John Rotherham of Someries in the parish of Luton, county Bedford, knight, Sir Thomas Rotherham of Someries aforesaid, knight, and Sir Robert Payne of Medlow, county Huntingdon, knight, to Francis Crawley of Bedford, esquire, and Thomas Crawley of the parish of Luton, father of the said Francis, of one house called the Court House, and one orchard adjoining thereunto, and one close of pasture called the Court Close, containing about five acres, lying near the churchyard of Luton; and also two closes of meadow ground called Hobbes Meades, lying together and near the Court Close on the one side and the river on the other side, and also

the "cawsey" and ground through which there is a footway leading from the Blackwater Bridge to Luton Church ; and also the ditches, fences, and "free-boards" belonging to the premises, "with free liberty, power and authority to the said Francis his heirs and assigns to cast upp the mudd out of the said dytches upon the wast groundes of the said Sir John and Sir Thomas or either of them " adjoining, and to carry the same away ; and also one close of pasture and wood ground called Little Gallentes, containing about four acres, and one close of arable land and wood ground called Cooper Crofte, containing about eight acres, with closes near Chilterne Greene in the parish of Luton, one meadow ("sometymes two meadowes") adjoining to Blackwater Lane now in the occupation of Edward Collier, containing about two acres.

To have and to hold all the aforesaid premises to the aforesaid Francis Crawley, his heirs and assigns for ever.

And whereas Thomas Crawley aforesaid is seised of the manor of Havering for the term of his life, with remainder to the said Francis and his heirs male, and whereas one parcel of pasture ground called Edon Greene in the parish of Luton has been reputed as part of Havering Manor, the said Sir John, Sir Thomas, and Sir Robert convey the same pasture ground called Edon Green to the said Francis and Thomas Crawley, their heirs and assigns for ever.

The Court House and the lands described as

"Court Close" and "Hobbes Meades," running from Park Street to the river, with the churchyard and the vicarage grounds on the north, and Blackwater Lane (Lea Road) on the south, were the site of the ancient castle erected by Fulkes de Breauté in the reign of King John. The "cawsey" described as running from Blackwater Bridge to the churchyard is also interesting as showing that "the cawsey" (*i.e.* a raised path or road above the surrounding low lands) which in recent times ran through Court Close, formerly crossed, diagonally, from the bridge to the church, instead of at right angles, as we see it at present, under the name of Holly Walk. This deed is also interesting as showing that there was a bridge over the river in Lea Road in 1611. Within the memory of many persons now living, there was a ford across the river alongside the bridge. The causeway above mentioned was the "balk" leading from Luton towards the road to King's Walden—"balk" being, in this instance, intended to signify a bank with a walk or footpath on the top. The lands on either side of this walk were very low, and in wet seasons were liable to be under

water; it was therefore very necessary that the public footpath should be raised considerably above the level of the meadows.

The reference in the deed above abstracted to Edon Green (Eaton Green) as reputedly part of the manor of Haverings is interesting as showing that the demesne of Haverings extended from Nether Crawley to Eaton Green.

In the same year, namely, 1611, Sir John Rotherham sold his manor of Luton and the manor of Langleys to Sir Robert Napier.

Francis Crawley was apparently making good progress in his profession, as we find him as early as the before-mentioned year of 1611 purchasing a farmhouse and land at Crawley Green. The deeds relating to this transaction are not among the Crawley Papers, but were in the present year (1910) shown to the writer by Mr Merchant of Manchester Street, Luton, who stated that they were found by his father in an old piece of furniture purchased by him at a sale in Luton. The deeds relate to several properties besides land at Crawley Green. The deeds relating to Francis Crawley's purchase disclose the title of a family named Day to the

same lands at Crawley from shortly after the year 1400 to 1611. The last member of that family who owned the property was a William Day of Clerkenwell, London, who had mortgaged his property to Edward Crawley of Barton, in the county of Bedford. The deed of feoffment is dated the 1st July 1611, and by it William Day and Edward Crawley conveyed to Francis Crawley a messuage, orchard, garden, and thirty-three acres of land at Crawley Green, within the manor of Dallow, abutting on land of Thomas Crawley, father of Francis Crawley ; and the said Thomas Crawley is one of the witnesses to the execution of the deed. The earlier deeds are in an excellent state of preservation, and contain admissions of six generations of the Day family as tenants of the manor of Dallow. The land forms part of the forty-three acres of the detached portion of the manor of Dallow in Stopsley above alluded to, and includes the site of the present vicarage of Luton, and other land lying between the vicarage and the present homestead of Crawley Green farm. In the conveyance to Francis Crawley he is described as of "Gray's Inn, London, Esquire."

148 A Bedfordshire Family

About the year 1618 there seems to have come upon the better class amongst the inhabitants of Luton a period of grave depression. Up to that time the place had been famous for its corn-market, and for the flourishing condition of the business of malting carried on there. There were sixty malt-houses in Luton, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries most of the Crawleys were engaged in that business. In 1618 there were great complaints that the town was being much injured by the pulling down of "fayre" houses and substituting cottages in their place, to the profit of certain private persons. The principal landowners at Luton at that time were Sir John Rotherham of Someries, Sir Robert Napier of Luton Hoo, and Thomas Crawley of Nether Crawley. Francis Crawley was, as we have seen, at that time a successful practitioner at the Bar, and on his advice the matter was laid before the King's Council. We have consulted the original document at the Record Office, and, as it contains a number of Luton names of the time, and discloses a curious episode in the history of the town, we give the document in full

Pulling Down Fayre Houses 149

(*State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. xcvi., No. 148):—

Maie it please yo^r Lo^{ps},

As we shall ever be most carefull accordinge to the dutie of our places to studdie and endeavo^r the good and benefitt of o^r county so far as lawfullie wee maie, So when wee finde any enormities happninge therein preiudiciall to the same, and get beyonde the power of our restraynt, wee hold it likewise o^r duties to give information thereof to his honorable table. And such is the present business wherewth wee make bould now to trouble yo^r Lo^{ps}. For the Towne of Luton beeinge a good markett Towne haveinge many fayre dwellinge houses frontinge to the Streete, most whereof have large Malthouses, and oth^r necessarie houses belonginge to them, was inhabited by men of good estate, who practizinge the trade of Maltinge, both enriched them selves, Sett a worke manie poore people, and were well able and did give releife to the rest of the poore inhabitants there. But maie it please yo^r Lo^{ps} Nowe of late some respectinge onlie their private gayne (Although wth the ruine of the whole Towne) doe pull downe, and sell away the fayrer part of those houses, and make severall cottages of the rest. To w^{ch} they admitt poore Tennants that have no certayne livelihood, but are likely in a short tyme they and their children to overgrowe and opresse the whole parishe; Hereof some of us did first acquaynt the Lord Cheife Justice of England,

150 A Bedfordshire Family

who gave ord^r to staie them, untill he might be furth^r informed therein. But they refusinge to submitt them selves to his Lo^{ps} direction his Lo^p was pleased to signifie his opinion thereof und^r his hand, w^{ch} wee make bould to present heerin inclosed to yo^r Lo^{ps}, togeath^r wth the schedule of the houses allready pulled down, as of such oth^{rs} as are intended presently to be pulled downe. Beceechinge yo^r Lo^{ps} be pleased to take to consideration whether that these proceedings (as they are allreadie pernicious to *this* particular Towne) maie not allso proove of dangerous consequence in the example they maie give to oth^r Townes to doe the like. All w^{ch} wee humblie submitt to yo^r honorable wisdomes to take such furth^r order therein as to yo^r Lo^{ps} shall seeme most meete. And so wee humbly take leave this 17th of June 1618.

Yo^r Lo^{ps} humblie to be Comanded,

(Signed) ROBERT NAPIER.
FR. CRAWLEY.

(Addressed)

To the right hono^{ble} o^r very good Lords, the lords and oth^r of his Ma^{ties} most honorable privy Councill.

(Endorsed)

June 1618.

A Lre from S^r Robert Napier &c. to the lordes. Concerninge the Towne of Luton.

(Heraldic seal in red wax: almost perfect).

No. 148, i. (enclosed in the above):—

It were fitt Mr Secretary Nanton or som of the Clarkes of the Councell were made acquainted wth this letter and note of S^r Robert Napers. I did write downe of the houses untill the parties hadd perticularly certyfyed me the reasons of theyre doinges and that yt might appeare to me that lawfully they might do what they intended to do. If hereuppon they shall not staye till they have certyfyed, then yo^r way must be by order of State to staye them till it be further inquyred into. For it concernes the Commonwelth that such a towne be not depopulated.

30 Maii 1618.

(Signed) H. MOUNTAGU.

(Not addressed.)

(Endorsed)

Luton in Bedfordshire. The Lord Chiefe Justice opinion for a staye of pulling downe the Houses there. 30 Maye 1618.

The names of those w^{ch} wth in the towne of Luton have pulled downe and destroyed Fayre houses wth in the same.

1. Amosse Winch sold a fayre house sometymes the Brothered howse w^{ch} was depopulated by Richard Crawley and nowe made three howses whereof two are cottages.

2. George Rotherham of Farley gent sold a howse unto Richard Crawley who pulled the same downe and sold it awaye and in place thereof erected a Cottage.

152 A Bedfordshire Family

3. A Fayre howse called the Hartshorne was depopulated and pulled downe by Robte Everett.

4. John Briscoe gent hath sold away the outhowes and Barnes of a Fayre howse and nowe remayneth as a Cottage and letteth awaye the land from it.

5. Thomas Stebbing hath depopulated a fayre howse and sold awaye the outhouses thereof and plucked them downe.

6. Richard Crawley hath depopulated a fayre howse and sold away and pulled downe the Barnes and outhowes thereof in place whereof are nowe erected fower cottages.

7. James Goode hath depopulated a fayre howse and nowe it remayneth as a cottage.

8. William Howe hath depopulated a fayre howse and nowe a Cottage.

9. Henry Remington hath depopulated a fayre howse and nowe made two Cottages.

10. Thomas Cresswell hath depopulated a fayre howse whereunto seaven ackers of land did belonge nowe sold awaye and of the forefront thereof made two cottages.

Howses now beginning and intended to be pulled downe.

11. George Rotheram gent purchased a fayre howse of Henry Goodwyn and hath pulled downe the forefront thereof wth the intent to pull downe the rest.

12. Jonas Katton hath already also begun to pull

downe a fayre howse and intendeth to pull downe the rest and to sell the ground to poore men to erect cottages uppon.

13. And Edward Ewer
14. John Carter senior
15. Thomas Samme
16. Henry Remmington
17. Robte Winche
18. Thomas Winch tylemaker
19. Robte Feild

These intend all the like.

(Not addressed.)

(Endorsed)

Luton in Bedfordshire. A Catalogue of the howses there allready pulled downe, and more intended to be presentlie pulled downe. 28 Maye 1618.

It does not appear to be very clear in what way the owners of "fayre houses," by pulling down such houses and erecting in their place cottages for the poor, were deriving a profit at the expense of the community. There is no question that malting had been the chief industry carried on within the town of Luton for several centuries. If malting was still a profitable occupation, it must have better paid the

maltsters to retain their malthouses than to pull them down ; but if the "fayre houses" referred to were untenanted and profitless to their owners, one can understand it would be to the "private gain" of the owners to convert them into cottages. It may be that there was an insufficiency of cottages ; that the crowding into the wretched hovels of the period of more persons than they could decently accommodate was a fruitful source of contagious and infectious diseases, and therefore the owners of "fayre houses" converted their useless houses into sanitary cottages for the overcrowded poor of Luton ; or, again, it may be that the effect of the dissolution of the monasteries and the hospitals for the poor, such as "Farley," had created a demand for cottage homes beyond the supply. We have no means of knowing what the real facts were at the back of this movement, and we are not told what success, if any, the application to the Privy Council met with. We learn from the letter itself that an order of Chief Justice Montague, in response to a previous letter of complaint, had been treated with scant courtesy, and it is probable that the present application

was equally futile. But we think the true explanation of the pulling down of "fayre houses" may be learned from certain eye-witnesses of that period. Leland, writing in the early half of the sixteenth century, mentions Luton as famous for its barley market, and gives no hint of its being in an unprosperous condition; but Camden, who published his *Britannia* in 1586, says of Luton: "I saw nothing memorable in it unless I should say that I saw a fair Church, but the choir was roofless and overgrown with weeds"—a sure sign that at the time of his visit the town was in a condition of poverty. The population in 1546 was 1500 "houselyng people"; that would mean 1500 persons above the age of fourteen or fifteen years. "Houselyng people" meant people who were old enough to be communicants.

From the fact of the signature of Sir Robert Napier being appended to the representation to the Council about the pulling down of houses in Luton, it is evident that Sir Robert was asserting his position as the leading man of the place. Sir Robert, as early as 1594, had purchased the manor and estate of Luton Hoo,

156 A Bedfordshire Family

and had erected a new mansion on the site of the old house at Luton Hoo. Lysons and Cobbe both give the date of this transaction as 1601. Napier was knighted by James I. in 1611, the year in which Sir Robert purchased the manor of Luton, and in 1612 he was made a baronet.

Francis Crawley's progress at the Bar was such that in 1623 he was made a Serjeant-at-law, being then only thirty-nine years old, and in the autumn of the same year he became "reader" at Gray's Inn. Three years later, on the impeachment of the Earl of Bristol, the Earl petitioned to have Serjeant Crawley assigned to him to conduct his defence. After many months of recrimination between Earl Bristol, the Duke of Buckingham, and King Charles, the Earl was released.

CHAPTER VII

Thomas Crawley purchases Someries—His Death—Francis Crawley made a Judge and knighted—His advice on "Ship Money"—Impeachment of Sir Francis Crawley—His Answer—The Civil War—Sequestration of the Crawley Estates—Death of Sir Francis—His Portrait.

IN the preceding chapter we alluded to the erroneous statement repeated by succeeding historians, who seem to have copied from Lysons, that Sir Francis Crawley acquired the estate of Someries, with Someries Castle, through his marriage with the daughter of Sir John Rotherham. The recital at the head of the Crawley pedigree at Stockwood states that Sir Francis Crawley *by purchase* became "Lord of Somerys Place in the parish of Luton, which joyneth the said ancient inheritance of the Crawleys."

On reference to the Crawley Papers it seems that the real purchaser of Someries was Thomas

Crawley, the father of Sir Francis, but that Francis Crawley was made a party to the deed for the purpose of vesting in him the reversion to the property upon the death of Thomas Crawley. It is certain that Thomas Crawley looked upon the property as his, because in his will he directed that his body should be buried "in my chapel of Someries in Luton Church."

This purchase was effected in the year 1629, when the family of Sir John Rotherham left Luton; and Francis Crawley and his wife, Elizabeth Rotherham, took up their residence at Someries Castle.

The Castle at Someries was known as "Somerys Place," but the estate was known as the manor of Greathamstead Someries. The early history of this small property was that it formed part of the manor of Luton, and some time subsequent to the division of the manor among the co-heiresses of the last Earl of Pembroke it was a separate manor held of the manor of Luton. From a Chancery Inquisition of 2 Edward II., it appears to have been at that period the property of the wife of Roger de Somery of Dudley Castle. Upon the death

of her son, John de Somery, in 1321 it passed to his two sisters, Joan and Margaret. After the death of Joan, her sister Margaret, who was married to John de Sutton of Dudley, in 1380 conveyed the property through trustees to her grandson, Sir John de Sutton. How long it remained vested in the descendants of the sister of John de Somery we are unable to determine, but it seems always to have retained the name of Someries. In 1464 it was purchased by John, Lord Wenlock, who in 1467 acquired the manor of Luton. Upon the death of Lord Wenlock in 1471 all his estates were escheated to the Crown, and were granted to Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln. According to Leland, the great antiquary in Henry VIII.'s reign, the Bishop had a kinsman who was married to the heir-general of Lord Wenlock. Whether this was the fact or not, it is certain Lord Wenlock's heir-general made a grant of the manors of Luton, Fennel's Grove, Langleys, Bennetts, Northwood, Stapleforth, East Hide, West Hide, Stopsley, and Greathampstead Someries to Thomas Rotherham, and that the Bishop devised them to his nephew, who was residing at

160 A Bedfordshire Family

Somerles. The place remained in the possession of the descendants of Thomas Rotherham's brother until 1629, when, as we have said, it was conveyed to Thomas Crawley.

There is evidence, in the immediate vicinity of Somerles Castle, that there was, at a much earlier date than the building now known as Somerles Castle, a considerable residence there. Lord Wenlock seems to have removed the remains of the old structure and commenced the erection of an extensive palace on the then more advanced ideas of domestic architecture.

The period was essentially one of transition. The country was exhausted by the protracted Wars of the Roses. The age of the turbulent, war-loving baron was almost over, and the desire for settled peace and domestic security began to find expression in a new style of domestic architecture. The castle erected by Lord Wenlock was typical of this stage of transition; it was a combination of two styles, half way between the battlemented stronghold of a feudal baron and the purely domestic home of the Tudor period. The building was of brick, a material only just then revived for

building purposes ; and sufficient of the old work remains to show us what a beautiful structure this fifteenth-century castle was intended to be. It was never completed, and it is doubtful if its builder, Lord Wenlock, ever occupied it. The probability seems to be that when Archbishop Rotherham acquired the estate he found the Castle in its incomplete state sufficient for the needs of his mother and brother, and contented himself with making habitable so much of the building as Lord Wenlock left.

Gough, the antiquarian, describes Somerles Castle as "a stately mansion standing in a wood near Luton, the portico, of all that was finished, now remains complete. It is one of the most beautiful specimens in brick of the florid Gothic that I remember."

We know of only one other building of its kind, and that is Hurstmonceaux Castle. It is of brick, and of the same period as Somerles, and, we think, may give us some idea of what Somerles was intended to be.

Davis, page 92 of the 1874 edition of his *History of Luton*, mentions an inventory made in 1606 (then in the hands of Davis) of the

162 A Bedfordshire Family

household stuff and furniture at Someries Castle. We have endeavoured to trace this inventory, but have failed. It is a pity Davis did not give us a transcript of it, or mention the nature of the document. The inventory mentioned many of the appurtenances and rooms of the mansion, such as "the dairy, the poultry-house, the farmhouse, the Queen's chamber, the inner chamber, Le Grey's chamber, the chamber at the gallery end, the gallery end next the great chamber, the great chamber, the clock chamber, the children's chamber, the maid's chamber, the inner chamber next the maid's chamber, Miss Elizabeth's chamber, Mr Cheyney's chamber, the chamber next Cheyney's, the great parlour, the little parlour, the hall, the smith's chamber, the well chamber, the cook-boy's chamber, the kitchen and the buttery." It is curious that no mention is made of the chapel within the Castle. It is an interesting feature of the building, and during the Protectorate probably afforded to the family and neighbourhood opportunities for religious worship that they could no longer enjoy in the parish church.

The mention of "the Queen's chamber"

affords some evidence that one of our queens at some time visited the Rotherhams at Someries—probably Queen Elizabeth during her residence at Hatfield House. “Miss Elizabeth’s chamber” was, of course, the chamber occupied by Miss Elizabeth Rotherham, who a few years later married Francis Crawley, and after the sale of Someries to the Crawleys returned to the home of her childhood as its mistress. It was here that she was destined to experience the unhappiness and the anxiety that filled the lives of many thousands of wives and mothers during the Civil War, and to experience the indignity and the discomfort of a troop of Cromwell’s soldiers billeted at the Castle for weeks together.

“Le Grey’s chamber” probably was the apartment that Lord Anthony de Grey occupied when he visited his sister, the wife of the first Sir Thomas Rotherham.

There is a ludicrous error in Davis’s *History of Luton* in connection with Someries. He states that the manor of Luton “was held by the Somarii family before the Norman Conquest,” and then adds: “It belonged to the Crown, as

164 A Bedfordshire Family

appears from Domesday Book." In proof of these statements he extracts from Domesday Book the account in Latin of the payments made from the manor of Luton to the Queen, amongst other things "de summario." Davis evidently did not get someone to translate for him the entry relating to the manor, and jumped to the conclusion that the item "de summario" contained some reference to Luton having belonged to the Someries family. He did not know that "summario" had reference to a *pack-horse* which, amongst other things, the manor had to provide annually for the use of the Queen of England. It is not true that the Someries family held this manor before the Conquest. There was a Hugh de Somery of Bygrave in Hertfordshire in the reign of King John; a John de Somery of Bygrave represented Hertfordshire in Parliament in the reign of Edward II. (De Chauncey's history of that county); but no De Somery owned the manor of Luton or any part of it before 1309, when a very small portion of Luton, namely, Someries, belonged, not to a De Somery, but to the *wife* of a Roger de Somery of Dudley Castle.

It is a curious and interesting illustration of the tenacity with which names remain attached to places long after every association between them has ceased to exist. The Somerles property was a small one; there is no record of any member of the Somerles family who may have lived there having left his mark upon the history of his country or the history of the district; the ruins that stand at Somerles are the remains of a building erected by a far more illustrious person than any member of the Somerles family; the chapel in Luton Church which is an appendage of the property called Somerles, although it was built by Lord Wenlock possibly upon the site of an older chapel, is a most beautiful and costly edifice. Yet, notwithstanding these facts, the apparent anomaly survives, and will probably last as long as the old church remains, that both the castle and the chapel are still named, and rightly named, the castle and chapel of Somerles. It is true that some people speak of the Wenlock Chapel in Luton Church, but no one who knows the facts would think of speaking of the Wenlock Chapel any more than they would call the Hoo

166 A Bedfordshire Family

Chapel the Napier Chapel. The chapel is appurtenant to the ownership of the estate known as Someries, and before burials in churches were prohibited the owners of Someries had the right of burial within the chapel by virtue of their tenure of that estate. It was by that right that the Crawleys were buried there until they parted with Someries in 1724 to Sir Robert Napier. Thomas Crawley was buried there in 1629, Sir Francis Crawley in 1649, Lady Crawley in 1658; Francis Crawley, son of Sir Francis, John Crawley, and lastly Richard Crawley, were all buried there. The removal of the Crawley tombstones from the chapel to the north transept of the church, during the time the Rev. James O'Neill was Vicar, seems to have been an arbitrary act of the Vicar.

Before we pass from the subject of Someries Castle, we will but mention another curious statement of Davis; he says: "The Castle is supposed to have been destroyed by Oliver Cromwell in the Civil Wars." There seems absolutely no warrant for such a statement. Throughout the time that Sir Francis Crawley

was at Oxford with the King, Lady Crawley and her family continued to reside at the Castle, and for many weeks she had a troop of Cromwell's soldiers quartered on her at the Castle; but it has never been suggested that Lady Crawley opposed the coming of the soldiers, or that at any time during the Civil War the Castle was besieged. If the soldiers had damaged the building, Sir Francis would certainly have mentioned the fact in his petition for the composition of his estate after the war was over.

We may suppose Thomas Crawley of Nether Crawley to have been well pleased at the eminence to which his son had risen, and we may regret that he did not live a little longer to see his son elevated to the bench of judges. He died at Nether Crawley on the 15th December 1629, and was the first of the Crawleys to be buried in the beautiful "chapel of Someries" in Luton Church.

Sir Francis Harvey having died, Serjeant Crawley was raised to the bench in his place as a Justice of the Common Pleas on the 11th October 1632, and was knighted by King

168 A Bedfordshire Family

Charles I. at Whitehall on the 4th November. In the same year Sir Francis obtained a grant of the coat-of-arms still borne by the family.

In 1635 Sir Francis was consulted by King Charles on the question of whether corn fell within the provisions of the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 2, which regulated the price of certain articles of food. Sir Francis advised that it did, and that a maximum price might be fixed for it. The object of the King was that a maximum should be fixed, that he might raise money by granting licences to sell at a higher price. In the following year the King sought the advice of the whole bench of judges on the most famous of his expedients for raising money without the authority of Parliament, namely, the imposition of ship-money.

The King based his claim to raise ship-money by writs under the Great Seal on the "royal prerogative" upon the advice of his Attorney-General, Noy. The English coasts were much infested by pirates, to the great loss of our merchants; and as the King could get no money from Parliament to provide a navy for the protection of our home seas, the Dutch took ad-

vantage of our weakness and became almost masters of the sea and of the northern fishing. Not content with that, they even invaded the British seas and our own coasts. Selden wrote a treatise entitled *Mare Clausum*, proving the sovereignty of the northern seas as under the dominion of the Crown of England, and that the Kings of England down to the time of Henry II. had regularly exercised the right of requiring levies for building and manning ships to maintain that sovereignty. The probability seems to be that the claim was founded on the right of our Saxon kings to impose a *geld* for the building and manning of ships to repel the Danes at sea. Noy seems to have shown that the right to levy such imposts was not confined to maritime counties, as mostly receiving the immediate benefit of security from pirates, but had undoubtedly extended to all counties. The main exception taken by the people was that the tax was not sanctioned by Parliament, and was therefore contrary to the late Petition of Right. With the levy raised in 1634 the King set out two fleets—one of “forty gallant ships” under the Earl of Lindsey, and another of twenty sail

170 A Bedfordshire Family

under the Earl of Essex. The levy on Bedfordshire was one ship, ninety-six men, and 240 tons of victuals, etc.

His Majesty was so pleased with his two fleets that he resolved to repeat the levy in 1635, and directed the Lord Chancellor to request the judges when on circuit to impress on the counties the advantages to be derived from the cheerful and prompt payment of ship-money as the best way to assure a lasting security from the depredations of all our neighbours. The second levy, however, met with steady and persistent opposition in many counties. Mr Hampden, in Buckinghamshire, was conspicuous in his opposition to the payment of the tax, and after fifteen months of vain endeavour to collect it without recourse to legal process, and it becoming evident that those who refused to pay were backed by powerful influence, the King, before enforcing payment, submitted the case to the opinion of the judges in the form of a letter dated the 2nd February 1636.

The following was the opinion of the judges:—

We are of the opinion that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned and the

whole kingdom is in danger, Your Majesty may issue Your writ under Your Great Seal commanding all Your subjects to provide and furnish such a number of ships with men, victual and ammunition, and for such time as Your Majesty shall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from such Peril and Danger. And that by Law Your Majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness. And we are also of opinion, that in such case Your Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

Twelve judges signed their names to the above opinion, of whom Sir Francis Crawley was one. Fortified with this opinion, the King directed the sheriffs to enforce payment. The case of Hampden was selected as a test case, and was moved into the Court of Exchequer, where the question of the legality of the writs was argued in November 1637, and the whole of the judges and barons of the Exchequer, except Crook and Hutton, gave judgment on the 27th January 1638 against Hampden. Both Crook and Hutton had signed the above opinion that the imposition was legal.

It was alleged against Sir Francis Crawley

that he delivered the judgment of the court, and further, that on circuit he had publicly asserted that the Parliament was incompetent to limit the royal prerogative in this matter, "that the right to levy ship-money was so inherent in the Crown that no Parliament could take it away" !

After attempting to govern the country without a Parliament for more than eleven years, the King was forced to summon the Parliament afterwards known as the "Short Parliament," which assembled at Westminster on the 13th April 1640. On the 17th the House of Commons ordered that the records in the case of the ship-money which concerned Hampden should be brought up, and on the 30th they resolved themselves into a Grand Committee to consider the matter. On the 5th May the Short Parliament was dissolved. Acting under pressure from his peers, and after vain endeavours to avert so distasteful a proceeding, Charles summoned the ever-famous Long Parliament. The Houses assembled on the 3rd November 1640, and as soon as they could get to practical work the Commons reopened the question of the ship-

money, and addressed a question to the judges who had given judgment in Hampden's case, demanding to be informed "in what sort the judges had been solicited by the King to give their votes concerning ship-money"; the House also appointed twenty-six members to examine the judges' answers. In *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. xxxix., No. 29, we have the record of the reply of Sir Francis Crawley. It was communicated to Sir Arthur Hastlerigg, and dated December 1640: "Report as from Crawley that he looked for this, but that he was not solicited, nor were any to his knowledge."

The Commons resolved to impeach the judges who had advised the King that ship-money was legal, and articles of impeachment were drawn up. The number of judges proceeded against was six, namely, Judge Bramston, Baron Trevor, Baron Weston, Baron Davenport, Sir Francis Crawley, and Justice Berkley. The first five of the above-named were brought under particular and respective charges, but Judge Berkley was impeached for high treason. The following was the reply made by Sir Francis Crawley to the charges made against him:—

174 A Bedfordshire Family

A.D. 1641. The answer of Sir Frauncis Crawley, knight, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, to the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the honourable House of Commons.

The said defendant, saveing unto himselfe all advantage of exception to the said impeachment, for answer thereunto, he saith and confesseth that on or about the month of November 1635 he was one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and had then taken the oath belonging to that place and office, and as to the opinion in the first article of his impeachment whereunto he is charged to have subscribed about the month of November 1635, he this defendant humbly confesseth that he subscribed an opinion which he taketh to be the same in effect as is conteyned in the said first article of the said impeachment, but for certeynty therein referreth himself to the same. And as to the extrajudiciall opinion charged by the said second article to be subscribed by this defendant about February 1636, he likewise humbly confesseth that there beinge a letter sent from his Majesty with questions therein inclosed to the effect of the questions mentioned in the said second article of impeachment, he this defendant did with the rest of the judges and barons of the Exchequer subscribe his opinion to such effect as is conteyned likewise in the said second article. And as to the third article of his impeachment he likewise confesseth

Sir Francis Crawley's Answer 175

that he did deliver his opinion in the Exchequer Chamber in the case of John Hampden, esquire, that he the said Mr Hampden upon the matter and substance of that case was chargeable with the money then in question. And this defendant further saith that at the tymes of the said severall and respective opinions and subscriptions made and delivered as aforesaid, he did conceive the law to be according to such his opinions. But this defendant doth in all humilitie acknowledge his error of judgment therein, and saith that he had no sinister ends or respects or evil intentions in any of the premises. And as touchinge the fourth article of the said impeachment, first whereas he is charged thereby that he this defendant declared and published in the Exchequer Chamber and western circuite where he went judge, that the Kinge's right to ship-money was soe inherent a right in the crowne as an Acte of Parliament could not take it away, he thereunto saith that he went divers tymes as judge in the western circuite, and it is not expressed in the said charge att what circuite or at what tyme or place in the circuite he this defendant did make such publication or declaration; yet for answere to the said part of the said charge he saith that he did not make such declaration or publication thereof in the Exchequer Chamber or in the western circuite as in the said fourth article is charged. And whereas he is further charged by the said fourth article that he, with divers malicious speeches, inveighed against, threatened and discountenanced such

176 A Bedfordshire Family

as refused to pay ship-money, although the same are generally and incerteynly charged, soe that he conceiveth he is not compellable to make answer thereto, yet he thereunto and to all matters in the said article conteyned, whereunto he hath not before answered sufficiently, he saith that he is not of them guilty in such manner and forme as is conteyned in the said articles of impeachment; all which matters this defendant is ready to averr and prove as this honourable court shall award.

(Signed) JOHN HENRY.
HENRY ADAMS.
JOHN FOUNTAYNES.

The Commons appear to have been especially angry with Sir Francis Crawley on account of his alleged observations when on circuit. They selected the poet Edmund Waller as their spokesman, a gentleman who was conspicuous in almost every debate in the House of Commons. He was a man of good fortune who lived in great style and was considered to be an orator. It is often difficult, when reading the orations of popular speakers, to realise the effect such speeches are credited with having produced on public assemblies; personal presence, voice, and gesture have much to do with the success of such efforts, and we are told that such qualities of the orator

were not wanting in the poet Waller. Moreover, the House, in choosing Waller, did not lose sight of the fact that he was a connection of John Hampden's, and it was expected that personal feeling would lend to his invective all the force and acrimony that personal feeling usually engenders.

The joint sitting of the two Houses was held in the Painted Chamber in July 1641. We have no description of the scene of this solemn impeachment; we can only imagine the details of what, after all, must have presented itself to many as a solemn farce, since there was not a tittle of evidence of venality on the part of the judges, and the worst that could be said was that they had been guilty of a regrettable error of judgment. There are two copies of Waller's speech in the British Museum Library. We have read the speech, and it strikes us as a poor performance; yet we have it on the authority of Dr Samuel Johnson, in his *Life of Waller*, that on the speech being printed and circulated, no fewer than twenty thousand copies were sold in a single day.

The general consensus of opinion of the

178 A Bedfordshire Family

time was that the judgment against Hampden was wrong, and such was the opinion of the great Lord Chancellor Hyde, as expressed in his history of the Great Rebellion. Hyde was father-in-law to James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II., and could not be said to be other than impartial in the view he has recorded on this question. Under the circumstances, Sir Francis and his fellow-judges were well advised to admit the "error of judgment." The fourth article of charge against Sir Francis Crawley was a more serious matter, and, if proved, would have been the undoing of the judge, and possibly have cost him his estate. Waller in his speech became quite bombastic in his invective against the judge on this article, but it missed its mark, because Sir Francis denied it, and no evidence was adduced in support of the allegation.

The incident was allowed to "fizzle out"; the uncertain state of the country may have had something to do with the fact that the impeachment was not pressed to a conclusion. The incriminated judges did not go on circuit, because their presence might at any moment be required by the Houses; but they continued to sit as

judges at Westminster Hall. It is clear that no allegation touching the honour of Sir Francis, outside the question of his action on the ship-money, was suggested, which is something to his credit, since the reputation of some of the judges of the time was, in respect of the purity of justice, questionable.

King Charles presented to each of the judges who supported him in the matter of the ship-money a ring. The ring presented to Sir Francis Crawley is now in the possession of Sir Thomas Hyde Crawley-Boevey, and is preserved at Flaxley Abbey by that branch of the family as an heirloom.

Sir Francis Crawley lived to see the poet Waller in a worse plight than ever he, Sir Francis, was in over the ship-money. In 1643 Waller was accused of plotting against the Parliament, and, being seized and sent to the Tower, proved himself a coward, and covered himself with ignominy. He was expelled from the House of Commons, mulcted in a fine of ten thousand pounds, and banished the country, but was subsequently allowed by Cromwell to return to England.

180 A Bedfordshire Family

Some three years previous to his impeachment by the House of Commons, namely, in 1638, Sir Francis Crawley suffered a serious domestic loss by the death of his eldest son, John Crawley. Mr John Crawley was a councillor-at-law, and had married Mary Lambert, his first cousin, a daughter of his father's sister, Mary, who married William Lambert. They had no children ; consequently, upon John Crawley's death his brother Francis, who was also a councillor-at-law, became heir-apparent to his father. This Francis Crawley was baptized in Luton Church on the 7th November 1619.

In 1639 the King appears to have levied a contribution on judges and serjeants-at-law towards the expenses of his journey into the north of England. In *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. 538, No. 84, it is recorded that the contribution required of "Justice Crawley" was £150, and that the money was paid.

In addition to being a judge, Sir Francis Crawley held an important office in the House of Lords, being Registrar of that House. He was in attendance on the House when, in the year 1642, the King went to Oxford. Sir Francis

Crawley Estate Sequestered 181

obtained leave from the House to go to his estate at Luton to spend Christmas. On New Year's Day 1643, while he was at Luton, he received a summons from the King of the gravest possible import: it was a summons to meet his Majesty at Oxford. The King was at war with his Parliament, and the country was plunged into that direst of all national calamities, a civil war.

Sir Francis and his son, his cousin, Mr John Crawley of Faulkner's Hall, and Sir Robert Napier of Luton Hoo were classed by the Parliament as delinquents, their estates were sequestered, and "Roundhead" troops were quartered at Someries for weeks together, to the great inconvenience and expense of Lady Crawley. Sir Francis continued in attendance at the King's Court at Oxford until the taking of that city in 1646, and remained an adherent of the Royalist party until his death. During his stay at Oxford he received from the university the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

In *State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum G.*, vol. 194, No. 423, is a statement of "the particular

182 A Bedfordshire Family

and yearly value of the lands of Sir Francis Crawley, knight," as they were valued at his going to Oxford about Christmas 1642, whereof he was seised in fee-tail in possession, or others were seised in fee in trust to the use of him and his heirs, as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
George Crawley, for a farm at Chiltern Green	64	0	0
John Guillham	37	13	0
John Crawley	23	16	0
Thomas Crawley	14	19	0
Eaton Green Farme	77	10	0
Cockernoll Ground (" Haverings ")	53	0	0
Nether Crawley	53	0	0
Thomas Creswell	12	3	0
Thomas Feild	8	0	0
For meadows and grounds at Luton	20	0	0
Someris, with the lands and grounds used with it in demesne, in part whereof my wife hath a jointure for her life	100	0	0
A cottage and certain grounds belonging and used to Ramridge End which Thomas Crawley holds for his life without any rent reserved	30	0	0
	<hr/> <u>£494 0 0</u> <hr/>		

Sir Francis adds to the above statement the following:—

As for my personal estate, all my coach horses and horses for husbandry were plundered and taken away, and Colonel Blaire and his company, being seventy-two, were quartered on me sixteen weeks together without any allowance, and spent all my hay, corn and cattle to the value of £500 at the least, and my wife was inforced to borrow money to provide for them, and my friends were inforced to compound for my household stuff; and I am indebted of Mrs Jane Rotherham by statute £600 and the use, besides other great debts by bonds.

The surrender of Oxford to the Parliamentarians occurred on the 24th June 1646, and the city was granted "very liberal terms." Amongst others, Sir Francis Crawley was granted a pass, dated 24th June 1646, signed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the Parliamentary forces, for "Mr Justice Crawley, who was in the city and garrison of Oxford, at the surrender thereof, and is to have the full benefit of the articles agreed upon the surrender, to go unmolested in England or beyond the seas."

Sir Francis did not go beyond the seas,

184 A Bedfordshire Family

but returned to his home at Luton, and lost no time in presenting his petition for the restitution of his property, in the following terms:—

To the Honourable the Committee for Compositions sitting at Gouldsmithes' Hall.

The humble petition of Sir Francis Crawley, knight. Showing that whereas he was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas and assistant to the House of Peers in Parliament, and had their leave to go into the country during Christmas A.D. 1642, whereupon he resorted to his dwelling-house in Luton, in the county of Bedford, intending to have returned to the Parliament within the time aforesaid; but during that time, that is to say, on New Year's Eve in that year 1642, he received his Majesty's commands under his privy signett without your petitioners former knowledge or privity, requiring him, all delays and excuses set apart, to repair to his Majesty at Oxford, which he did, and was with his Majesty at Oxford within two days after the said commands. And hath since resided at Oxford and other places within his Majesty's quarters, and hath adhered to his Majesty during his unhappy war against the Parliament, for which delinquency his estate is sequestered. And he was at Oxford during the surrender thereof, and is comprised within the articles then made.

Sir Francis Compounds 185

He humbly prays he may be admitted into a favourable composition, according to the said articles.

(Signed) FR. CRAWLEY.

(Indorsed)

Pass the 24th June 1646.

Accepted the 12th November 1646.

26th November 1646, referred to the sub-commissioners.

(*State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum G.*, vol. 194, No. 422.)

The report of the sub-commissioners was as follows :—

Sir Francis Crawley, knight, sometime a judge in the Court of Common Pleas.

His delinquency: That he left his dwelling and went unto Oxford and lived there whiles it was a garrison holden for the King against the Parliament, and was there at the time of the surrender, and is to have the benefit of the articles as by Sir Thomas Fairfax's certificate of the 24th of June 1646 doth appear.

He hath neither taken the negative oath nor covenant, but prays to be spared therein, according to the said articles and vote of the House of Commons pursuant.

He compounds upon a particular delivered in under his hand, by which he doth submit to such fine, etc., and by which it doth appear :—

186 A Bedfordshire Family

That he is seised in fee to him and his heirs in possession of and in divers messuages, lands and tenements, lying and being in Chilterne, Eaten Greene Farme, Cockernole Ground, Nether Crawley, and of other lands and tenements in Luton, in the county of Bedford, all particularly mentioned in the particular of his estate, and were together of the yearly value before these troubles £464, 1s., now letten by the sequestrators for £351 10 0

That after the decease of one Thomas Crawley there will remain and come unto him and his heirs other lands and tenements called Ramridge End, of the yearly value before these troubles 30 0 0

That he is indebted by statute 600 0 0

And hath had all his household stuff and goods taken from him to the value of 500 0 0

The Committee assessed the composition to be paid by Sir Francis at £1000, on the basis of one-tenth, but the amount actually paid on the 23rd December 1646 was £958.

From the same series of papers we gather some information of a Mr "Ruben Browne" who accompanied Sir Francis as his clerk, and not as a combatant. The proceedings were three years later than those of Sir Francis

Reuben Browne Compounds 187

Crawley, but it will be convenient to insert them here :—

19th June 1649. Proceedings of Committee for compounding Ruben Browne, of Luton, in the county of Bedford, gentleman.

His delinquency : That he hath been adjudged a delinquent by the Committee of Examinations, for attending upon his master, Sr. Francis Crawley, knight, late one of the judges of the Common Pleas at Oxford during the time that the same was holden as a garrison against the Parliament.

He petitioned here 2 May 1649.

He compounds on a particular submitted under his hand.

He is possessed of household stuff and other moveables, and malt, to the value of £140.

He craves a saving to compound for a debt of £60 due to him by John Foster, and a debt of £120 which he heretofore paid as fine for a lease from Trinity College, Oxford, of lands and tithes in Luton, but he did not enjoy the lease and is in suit in Chancery about it.

This Mr Reuben Browne is described as a gentleman, and there is evidence extant of a gentle family of that name who were owners of property at Luton from the reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth to the time of

188 A Bedfordshire Family

James II., and probably later. Some of them were maltsters, and we have thought the present families of that name in Luton, who are now timber merchants and millers, but whose ancestors were early in the eighteenth century maltsters, might be descendants of the family above referred to. We have not, however, succeeded in tracing any connection. The present members of the Brown family think their ancestors first came to Luton from Puddlestone in the year 1700.

We do not know what was the effect of the Civil War on the fortunes of Mr John Crawley of Faulkner's Hall or of other members of the family at Luton, but it is significant that from that time we lose all trace of the Crawleys of Faulkner's Hall. It seems certain that for some reason that property had been transferred to Sir Francis Crawley, as, by a deed dated the 25th October 1647 (Crawley Paper No. 226), Sir Francis granted to his son and heir, Francis Crawley, "all that capitall messuage comonly called Faulkner's Hall," with all lands, woods, etc. This grant to young Francis Crawley was probably made upon the occasion of the marriage

Death of King Charles 189

of Francis Crawley, junior, to Mary, daughter of Richard Clutterbuck of London, merchant. Mr Francis Crawley was then twenty-seven years of age.

Notwithstanding that the proceedings impeaching the judges in the matter of the ship-money had been dropped, the Parliament, by an ordinance dated the 24th November 1645, directed that Sir Francis Crawley and four other judges should "cease from being judges as though they were dead." It is curious that, after he was deprived of his judgeship, Sir Francis, in the proceedings for the composition of his estates, was twice mentioned as "Justice Crawley." In other places he is referred to as "sometime a judge in the Court of Common Pleas."

King Charles was brought to the block on the 30th January 1649. The following letter, which we quote from Mr Crawley-Boevey's *Memorials of the Boevey Family*, page 33, is an interesting reference to "the black tragedy" written immediately after the event:—

To Sir William Boswel at the Hague.

SIR,—That black tragedy which was lately acted here as it hath filled most hearts with consternation

190 A Bedfordshire Family

and horror, so I believe it hath been no less resented abroad. For my own particular the more I ruminate upon it the more it astonisheth my imagination and shaketh all the cells of my brain ; so that sometimes I struggle with my faith and have much ado to believe it yet. I shall give over wondering at anything hereafter. Nothing shall seem strange unto me ; only I will attend with patience how England will thrive, now that she is let blood in the Basilical vein, and cured as they say of the Kings-evil.

I had one of yours by Mr Jacob Boeve, and I thank you for the account you please to give me of what I sent you by his conveyance. Holland may now be proud, for there is a younger commonwealth in Christendom than herself. No more now, but that I always rest your humble servitor. I. H.

Sir Francis Crawley survived the King he had served so faithfully only fourteen days ; he died on the 13th February 1649, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in his "chapel of Someries" in Luton Church. Lloyd, in his memoirs of those who suffered for the Protestant religion, classes Sir Francis among such sufferers.

At Stockwood there is a portrait of Sir Francis Crawley in his judicial robes. He was only forty-eight when he was made a judge,

Character of the Cavaliers 191

sixty-one when the capitulation of Oxford put an end to his public career, and sixty-four when he died. But for the fact that he was at Oxford when the city was taken, and therefore entitled to compound for his estates on "Oxford terms," we think it doubtful if he would have regained possession of his property so easily as he did. "Oxford terms" are said to have been extremely favourable to delinquents.

The "unamiable" Milton described King Charles's Cavaliers as "the ragged infantry of stews and brothels, the spawn and shipwreck of taverns and dicing-houses"; but a recent writer has more justly depicted the Cavalier "as not invariably a drunken brute, and spiritual life and growth as not exclusively the possession of Puritans and ascetics." The Royalists who set out from Luton on that New Year's Day 1643 to join their King at Oxford—Sir Francis Crawley, Sir Robert Napier, Mr John Crawley of Faulkner's Hall, Mr Francis Crawley, the Rev. Thomas Crawley, and Mr Reuben Browne—were all high-minded English gentlemen of the best type of those men we see so freely depicted

192 A Bedfordshire Family

in the pages of John Evelyn's Diary : " Cavaliers in all the best senses of the word, loyal subjects of the King, dutiful and devoted sons of the Church of England, accomplished and high-minded gentlemen, as conspicuous for purity as for all other manly virtues." The peculiar charm of the better sort of Cavalier was that he accepted culture and beauty, and refinement and enjoyment, as divine gifts, and, in St Paul's phrase, "used the world as not abusing it." Of such was Sir Francis Crawley. His portrait, which hangs in the dining-room at Stockwood, has the appearance of having been painted from life. The face has all the refinement and evidence of culture characteristic of his judicial training and aristocratic proclivities, while the lofty brow bespeaks a man of thought, full of reverence for his God and loyalty to his Sovereign. *Requiescat in pace !*

CHAPTER VIII

The Children of Sir Francis Crawley—Francis Crawley his Son—Luton and the Crawleys under the Commonwealth—The Intruded Ministers of Luton Church—Letter of Mr R. Browne—John Crawley—Richard Crawley—Repurchase of “Plenties”—Death of Richard Crawley.

SIR FRANCIS CRAWLEY left his widow, *née* Elizabeth Rotherham, and several children. According to the *Visitation* pedigree of the College of Arms, he had children of the following names and order of birth, namely, Francis, Thomas, Robert, John, and Ann. According to the Stockwood pedigree the children were:—

1. John Crawley, baptized at Luton, 1609. Married in 1632 his first cousin, Mary, daughter and heiress of William Lambert by Mary, sister of Sir Francis Crawley, and died without issue in 1638. His widow afterwards married Sir Edward Bagot of Blithfield, Co. Stafford, Bart.

2. Francis Crawley, of whom presently.

194 A Bedfordshire Family

3. Thomas Crawley, D.D., Rector of Barton-le-Cley, Beds, and of Amersham, Bucks. He died a bachelor, and was buried in the chancel of Barton Church.

4. Robert Crawley, M.D., of Dunstable, Beds. He married in 1663 Joane, daughter of Richard Tavener of Hexton, Herts. Richard Tavener is mentioned in De Chauncey's *History of Hertfordshire* as of Hexton Burystead (vol. ii. p. 416).

5. Nicholas Crawley, died young.

6. Ann Crawley, only daughter of Sir Francis, married the Rev. George Parish, D.D. They were married at Barton Church. She died without issue.

Francis Crawley, who succeeded as heir to Sir Francis, was baptized the 7th November 1619, according to the registers in Luton Church, and not the 17th March 1620, as stated in one of the pedigrees. Being a Royalist, he was a "delinquent," and as such was taxed at ten per cent. of his annual income. He had, like his elder brother John, been destined for the legal profession, and was entered at Gray's Inn on the 7th August 1633. He was called to the Bar in 1638. In 1679 he was made Cursitor Baron of

Luton under the Commonwealth 195

the Exchequer—that is to say, an officer of the Court of Exchequer who administers the oath of all high sheriffs, under sheriffs, bailiffs, and all the functionaries of the customs. He was in the list of those intended for the honour of “Knight of the Order of the Royal Oak,” an Order that Charles II. contemplated establishing immediately after the Restoration, but never carried into effect. The minimum qualification for the Order was an income of £1000 a year (Wotton’s *Bar*, v. 353).

It may be interesting to consider what was the attitude of the Crawley family and the people of Luton towards the new order of things following upon the outbreak of the rebellion. During the Civil War the two largest landowners in Luton were Sir Robert Napier and Sir Francis Crawley, both of whom were staunch Royalists, and both suffered sequestration of their estates. It was probably due to the influence of these gentlemen and of their families that the Parliament, and later the Protector Cromwell, experienced considerable difficulty in providing for the spiritual care of the people of Luton—a difficulty which lasted up to the

196 A Bedfordshire Family

latest hours of the Protector's life. The Rev. John Birde, B.D., had been instituted Vicar of Luton in the year 1617, and was a personal friend of Sir Robert Napier. He was greatly respected by his parishioners, and was in sympathy with the Royalist cause. It was not until 1644 that he found his position as Vicar of Luton insupportable, and, rather than wait to be ejected, he resigned, and removed to another living he held at Cheddington, where the people were not so prominently within the observation of the emissaries of the Parliament, or subject to the reforming influence of the intolerant Puritans. There is a complete blank in the Luton Church Registers from 1643 to 1647. Upon the resignation of Mr Birde in 1644, the Parliament placed Luton Church in the charge of the Rev. Samuel Austin; but in a few months Mr Austin was determined to be rid of his charge. From the *Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers*, under the date 6th December 1645, we read that "Mr Austin, to whom the church of Luton was sequestered," attended in person before the Committee and explained his reasons for leaving

The Intruded Ministers 197

his cure at Luton, and desired that especial care should be taken for settling someone in his place, in regard of "the divisions of the said parish."

The Parliament had constituted local committees in each county to deal with ecclesiastical matters, and the Committee for Plundered Ministers referred the filling up of the vacancy at Luton to the county committee and desired them to take speedy measures for reconciling the said differences, and to find some suitable person to take Mr Austin's place. They further requested that gentleman to attend the county committee and "acquaint them of the difficulties of the position." Part of Mr Austin's trouble seems to have been the difficulty of getting in his "tythes and dues." From the above it is certain the people of Luton did not take kindly to the ministrations of their first "intruded minister." It was not a question of ordination, because Mr Austin seems to have been a regularly ordained clergyman. Mr Cobbe thought that there was evidence that "the feeling of the parishioners against the obtruded ministers ran very high, and brought to a head, if it was not itself the chief cause of,

198 A Bedfordshire Family

a great schism in the parish, resulting in much bitter feeling ; a result not hinted at as existing from a similar cause in any other parish in the county."

The county committee perhaps visited Luton ; in any case they probably did as wise a thing as could well have been devised—they selected a man who was a native of the place, who was a first cousin of Lady Crawley, and connected with two of the oldest and most influential families in Luton. Moreover, he was a man who had been episcopally ordained, and had acted as curate, if not in the parish, at least in the neighbourhood. They selected the Rev. Thomas Attwood Rotherham. Mr Rotherham tried, we may believe, to do his best, but failed utterly. In less than two years he found his position insupportable, and he gave it up. His successor was a Mr Carey, and he too threw up the charge and retired. The living remained vacant for three years. It is believed, and is probable, that the presence of the Rev. Thomas Crawley at Someries provided some spiritual ministrations, *sub rosa*, at Someries Castle and possibly at Luton Hoo ; but it was not until

Mr Thomas Jessop's Petition 199

1674 that a chapel in the mansion at Luton Hoo was provided and consecrated.

In 1650 a newly appointed minister, a Mr Jessop, appeared and took up the position of intruded minister at Luton Church. That his ministry was far from being acceptable is certain; but notwithstanding the factious opposition of his parishioners he managed to hold his place for eight years, when a circumstance happened that rendered his position intolerable. Lady Crawley, the widow of Sir Francis, died, and the family not only desired to bury her in Someries Chapel, next her husband, but to have the Prayer-book service for the burial of the dead read over her body. The scene that ensued may best be gathered from the narration of Mr Jessop in his petition, *State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum*, vol. clxxxi., No. 59:—

27th May 1658.

To his Highness, Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The Humble Petition of Thomas Jessop, minister of God's word at Luton, in Bedfordshire. Humbly Sheweth,

That your petitioner for the space of eight yeares

last past hath faithfully dispenced his ministerial labours at Luton aforesaid, struggling with many difficultyes and discouragements from a malignant and prelatical party thereabouts, arisinge upon the score of his affection to your Highness' government, and for that hee received not episcopall ordination, which your petitioner was willing while they were meerly personal; but finding that they strike at his ministeriall function and that the work of the Gospel is retarded and prejudiced by their withdrawing divers of his parishioners from holding communion with him in public ordinances, and doe exercise worship in prelatical meetings and formes as they have had opportunityes, hee falleth under a necessity to surrender up his charge, unless some redress bee afforded him against that prelaticall and malignant faction, whose exorbitancyes may be abundantly demonstrated, and amongst many others, by this instance, that on the 3rd of May 1658, the Lady Crawley, widow of Judge Crawley, being brought in the night time to her interment in the Church of Luton, without any notice thereof communicated to the petitioner, hee did after his hearing of what was intended apply himself with all civility to her relations, and for prevention of disturbances offered them their liberty to bury her by the minister who accompanied them (being a prelatical person), only intreating that the reading of the liturgye of the common prayer book might bee forborn, and withall giving way that the said person might deliver a word of exhortation to

The Burial of Lady Crawley 201

the people upon the funeral occasion, in case the liturgie were waved ; but Mr Thomas Crawley, a younger son of the deceased lady, and sometime a souldier in the late King's army, taking notice that the petitioner denyed the conveniency of using the liturgie in that place, did, upon that sole account, call the petitioner a scoundrell, a jacke and a clown, some saying farther that your Highness did allow the use of the common prayer in London ; and moreover that persons who accompanied the body, opened the church doore by violence, and entring in, the said Thomas Crawley at the interment of the body himself read that part of the common prayer booke which was appointed to bee used at the burial of the dead withall the appendant ceremonyes.

Wherefore the petitioner doth humbly prostrate himself before your Highness, praying that his condition being extremely sad and insupportable through the unwearied opposition of the said party, may be taken into consideration by your Highness, and that you will please to give order for his relief in such a way as your Highness in your great wisdom shall judge meete, whereby your Highness will give a farther testimony of your approved care and tenderness, towards the deare concernments as well of the Gospell as of the civill peace wherewith your Highness is happily entrusted, and will also oblige your Highness' petitioner.

Ever to pray, etc.

THOM. JESSOP.

202 A Bedfordshire Family

The order of Cromwell's Council on this petition was "that the sergeant-at-arms bring up Thomas Crawley in custody, and that the petitioner attend with witnesses to prove the charge against him." The sergeant-at-arms was probably unable to lay hands on Mr Thomas Crawley. In the meantime, a more puissant sergeant-at-arms, in the shape of Death, claimed the body of Oliver Cromwell, and no more was heard of Mr Jessop's petition. On the Restoration, some two years later, Mr Jessop was displaced, and an episcopally ordained clergyman was appointed in his stead.

The mischief wrought on our beautiful old church by the Puritans began as early as 1641, when the House of Commons, intent upon reformation, made an order for the removal of "all scandalous pictures, figures and crosses," both inside and outside churches. The result will always remain a deplorable fact amongst Churchmen; and in these days, when we see on all sides that the Nonconformists are introducing mediæval styles of architecture into their most recent buildings for religious worship—pointed arches, carved stone capitals of pillars, mullioned

windows, towers with belfry chambers, steeples surmounted with the cross, battlemented turrets, and even stained-glass windows—we cannot but doubt that they too must regret the mischief done by their intolerant ancestors. The church at Luton was despoiled of many of its most beautiful treasures—shrines, altars, carved mural decorations, glorious old stained-glass windows, Early English tombs and statues. The stained-glass windows in the Someries Chapel, some few vestiges of which are now in the possession of Mr Alfred Higgins, must have been beautiful specimens of mediæval work. These, and the niche and piscina in the same chapel, with many other ornaments, were ruthlessly destroyed. The images of the Virgin over the High Altar, the High Altar itself; the Rood loft and the Holy Cross there; the Holy Cross in the Green Rood; the Holy Cross enthroned; the images of St John the Baptist, St Catherine, St Margaret, St Sithe, St George, St Clement, and St Nicholas; the chapels of the Guild of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin, with their altars and decorations; and lastly the altars in the Someries Chapel, were all swept away. It is small wonder

204 A Bedfordshire Family

that people who had for generations loved and venerated a church so full of the emblems of their faith, who had for centuries been accustomed to the ministrations of not one but seven clergy, clothed in resplendent canonical vestments, deeply resented the ministrations of a single intruded, unordained preacher, nominated and appointed by the men who had been responsible for, if not the instigators of, the mutilation and degradation of their old church. We do not wish to see a return of all these things, with the superstitions they represented, but we may nevertheless regret the zeal of the Puritans, and sympathise with the impatience of the people of Luton at the new order of things.

The Thomas Crawley referred to in Mr Jessop's petition was the third son of Sir Francis Crawley, and served in the armies of the Royalists in the Civil War. He was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is not stated whether he served in the King's forces as a combatant or as a chaplain, but most probably he was a chaplain. Upon the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, the Rev. Thomas Crawley was instituted Rector of Amersham "on the King's title," and

in 1661 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge, by direction of the King, and was presented to the Crown living of the rectory of Barton-in-the-Clay, in Bedfordshire.

It will be seen from the narrative pedigree at the commencement of this chapter that the fourth son of Sir Francis Crawley, named Robert, was a doctor of medicine, and that he resided at Dunstable. He appears from the *Beds Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 273, to have had a son, John Crawley, who matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1688, taking a B.A. degree 27th October 1692. In 1748 there was a Thomas Crawley, M.D., of Dunstable, who was High Sheriff of Bedfordshire. He was probably a descendant of Dr Crawley above mentioned. Further trace of this branch of the family has been lost.

Amongst the Crawley Papers of this time is a curious letter from R. Browne of Luton to Francis Crawley, dated at Luton the 22nd February 1677, which evidently had reference to the title to some property at Luton mortgaged to Francis Crawley.

The R. Browne referred to was probably the Mr Reuben Browne already mentioned. The

following is a copy of the letter, and is interesting if only as a specimen of the orthography of the time :—

There is nothinge can bee sed more then is already sed by Mr Docwra and myselfe, but it seemes by Mr Cheyne that nothinge will satisfye Mr Gillingham, but the sight of my deed of trust recited in your mortgage and made by mee and my wife to Mr Docwra, Mr Coppin and my brother, and to that end they would have mee to shewe that deed to Mr Cotton, which to satisfye all their nice scruples shall be done as soone as Mr Cotton comes downe, which is more to serve you than for anythinge els, for some men never thinke themselves soe wise as when they can rayse doubts and start nice questions and the like.

Postscript.—But it seems some other counsell are of his opinion; however it shal bee done. Sir, you need say noe more but that the deed shalbee shewed to Mr Cotton accordinge to their desire; and the next thinge to bee done is to rippe me up and soe to see my heart too, and perhaps that may not serve the towne neyther.

The Mr Gillingham above referred to is, we think, the Mr Roger Gillingham of Luton who was of the Inner Temple, London, and in 1695 left by will £10 a year from the manor of Shillington "for a schoolmaster at Luton to be

nominated and appointed by Sir J. Napier and his heirs male, so long as such issue shall be lords of the manor of Luton Hoo, and in default of right heirs, by the lord of the manor of Hoo, to teach gratis children of the parish nominated by Sir J. Napier." This charitable bequest still survives, and is received by the trustees of the "Bigland, Gillingham, and Long Foundation," and Sir Julius Wernher, Bart., the present owner of Luton Hoo, nominates and appoints one of the trustees of that foundation, in recognition of the above-mentioned direction of Roger Gillingham. The Mr Docwra also referred to was a member of a family in Luton entitled to bear arms; they at one time owned the manors of Stopsley, Putteridge, and Hayes or Hooburne. The Cheyneys were a well-known family in Bedfordshire, and also in Bucks. A branch of the family came from Chenies to Luton about 1520, and acquired the manor of Bramingham by marriage. They became possessed of considerable lands in Sundon, Stopsley, and Luton, but were distinct from the titled family of Cheyneys of Toddington (*Beds Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 67). The Luton Cheyneys

208 A Bedfordshire Family

owned the manor of Chelsea, and gave their name to the classic region of "Cheyney Walk." The names Docwra and Cheyne or Cheyney are of frequent recurrence in the Crawley Papers. Another interesting name in Mr Browne's letter is "Coppin," a family who owned "The Cell" at Markyate and founded a charity there. The Mr Cotton, also mentioned, belonged to a Bedfordshire family. Sir John Cotton, of the county of Bedford, was descended from Sir Robert, the donor of the Cottonian Library (*Beds Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 142).

Francis Crawley married, as above stated, Mary, daughter of Richard Clutterbuck of London, merchant, and died at Luton on the 25th February 1682. He was buried in the Someries Chapel, and on his tombstone he is described as "Francis Crawley (son and heir of Sir Francis Crawley, one of the Barons of the Exchequer), who dyed 25th February 1682." His children were:—

1. John Crawley, councillor - at - law, of whom presently.
2. Francis Crawley, died a bachelor, at Aleppo, the 15th August 1680.

3. Thomas Crawley, Rector of Abinger, in the county of Surrey, married Elizabeth, daughter of Gabriel Offley, D.D., one of the King's Chaplains. They died without issue. In the chancel of Abinger Church, on a black marble gravestone on the south side of the altar, there was, and may be now, this inscription:—

“Here lyeth the body of Mr Thomas Crawley, Rector of this parish, son of Francis Crawley, Esq., Cursitor Baron of his Majesty's Exchequer. He departed this life the 4th day of May Anno Dom. 1685.

“Here also lyeth the body of Mrs Elizabeth, Relict of the said Thomas Crawley and daughter of Gabriel Offley, D.D., Chaplain of His Majesty, King Charles II., who dyed March 1687/8.”

4. Richard Crawley, of whom presently.
1. Mary, married firstly to Cory Hayward of the Temple, and Hutton Hall, Co. Essex, who died leaving no issue. She married, secondly, Thomas Bedford, Registrar of the Lords of Appeal, and also Registrar in reversion to the High Court of Admiralty, by whom she had one child, Mary, who was thirteen years old in 1694.
2. Elizabeth. She married John Hayward of Hutton Hall, Co. Essex, who died 25th June 1678. She died 29th May 1685, and

210 A Bedfordshire Family

their only child, Thomas, died in 1694, aged about seventeen years. Their monument was to be seen in Northaw Church, Co. Herts.

3. Margaret, living in 1694, married to William Pyke, Rector of Black Notley in Co. Essex (see Crawley pedigree at Stockwood, and *Beds Notes and Queries*, vol. ii.).

In *Evelyn's Diary* there are several references to Dr Offley, Rector of Abinger. In addition to being one of the King's Chaplains, he was Groom Porter to the King. He was a considerable benefactor to Abinger and Wotton, both of which livings were in the gift of the Evelyn family. The parishes were of wide extent, some of the inhabitants being five miles distant from their parish churches, and the roads in winter extremely bad. The Rector therefore built a chapel of ease, called Oakwood Chapel, and gave some good farms in Sussex for the endowment of the new chapel.

The monument in Northaw Church to the memory of John Hayward and Elizabeth Crawley was probably destroyed when Northaw Church was burnt down on the 20th February 1881.

John Crawley, son and heir of Francis, followed

X The Chapel was built in 1220. Dr Offley rector.
This year is full of evil.

his father's profession, but we do not learn that he attained to any eminence in the law. He held the family estates some years, and lived at Someries; but the Crawley Papers are a complete blank with respect to this gentleman. We have not been able to find that he ever married, nor can we say when he died. He was living in 1699, because his brother Richard, in his will, mentions that his brother John was one of the parties to his, Richard's, marriage settlement.

Richard Crawley followed the profession of the law, and presumably in the Admiralty Courts. The following is an abstract of the grant to him of the office of Registrar of the Admiralty (Crawley Paper No. 504):—

12th October, 10 William III., A.D. 1698.

Whereas James, Duke of York, Admiral, by letters patent dated 6th September 1660, appointed Hugh Potter, Esquire, and Orlando Gee, Esquire, now knight, to be Registrars of the Admiralty for the term of their lives: and whereas Hugh Potter died and Sir Orlando Gee survives: William III. now grants to Richard Crawley, Esquire, public notary to Sir Orlando Gee, the office of Registrar of the Admiralty, with the fees to that office pertaining; to have and to hold the said

212 A Bedfordshire Family

office immediately after the death of the said Sir Orlando Gee, knight, for the term of the life of the said Richard Crawley.

We have seen from the pedigree above quoted that Richard Crawley's sister, Mary Crawley, had married Thomas Bedford, who was Registrar of the Court of Delegates or Lords of Appeal of the Court of Admiralty, and also Registrar in reversion to the Admiralty. Thomas Bedford seems to have died before the latter office was vacant, and Richard Crawley, his brother-in-law, succeeded him as Registrar of the Delegates in 1685. It is highly probable that the grant of the reversion of the Registrarship of the Admiralty was made to Richard Crawley in consideration of the fact that the previous grant of the office to his brother-in-law, Thomas Bedford, had failed.

Richard Crawley married Sarah, daughter of Sir Samuel Dashwood, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1702. The marriage settlement was dated the 24th October 1699. We have not found the deed among the Crawley Papers, but it is recited in Richard Crawley's will.

From the time of Sir Francis Crawley, for

the next three generations, the eldest son of the family followed the profession of the law; and either as a matter of necessity, or possibly of choice, Richard Crawley lived in or near London. The old castle at Somerles, being no longer a convenient place of residence, was left to the bats and owls, and rapidly assumed all the picturesque discomforts of an interesting ruin. Faulkner's Hall was let as a farmhouse; the old home at Nether Crawley, after the death of old Thomas Crawley, had also been converted into a farmhouse; while the pile of old buildings at Haverings were still divided into two houses and occupied by farmers.

Richard Crawley, before his marriage, lived in a house he had purchased in Doctors' Commons, and it is to be presumed he made money out of his office in the Admiralty. After his marriage with Miss Dashwood he seems to have acquired a property at Northaw or Northhall, in Hertfordshire, near Barnet, and at the same time retained his residence at Doctors' Commons. Whether Richard Crawley purchased Northaw, or whether it came to him on his marriage with Sarah Dashwood, we have no information; but

214 A Bedfordshire Family

there is a tradition that it came to the Crawleys through the Vanacker Sambrooks. We have no authority for the latter suggestion, but there is no doubt that during their residence in London and Northaw the Crawleys became intimate neighbours of Sir Vanacker Sambrook and his family, who lived near Barnet. The branch of the Crawley family who were descended from Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane, Luton, were merchants in the city of London, and were related by marriage to connections of the Vanacker family at Isleworth. Sir Vanacker Sambrook took an intelligent interest in the historical associations of Barnet, and erected in the neighbourhood an obelisk to commemorate one of the battles of Barnet.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the next century Luton saw but little of the Crawleys. Their old friends, the Rotherhams of Someries, had left the place; the Napiers of Luton Hoo were never an interesting family, and it is probable that, socially, the Crawleys found London and Northaw more congenial to habits and pursuits which had for the past two or three

generations ceased to be centred in agriculture. In the meantime, while Richard Crawley was accumulating wealth in London, it seems probable that he had resolved that his son should return to Luton and settle in a new home to be erected on some portion of the family property there, as we find him making several important additions to the estate. In 1708 the Farley branch of the Rotherham family were parting with their property at Stockwood, Luton, to Richard Crawley, including the old mansion in which the Rotherhams had resided since about the year 1554. It is extremely difficult to follow the history of the properties held by this branch of the Rotherham family subsequent to the year 1708, as the Crawley Papers do not help us to determine, with accuracy, the dates at which the Crawleys acquired different portions of these lands, comprising between five and six hundred acres. Cobbe makes a number of extremely disjointed references to records of transactions relating to various portions and interests, while the *Victorian History* further complicates matters by stating that in 1815 Farley and Whipperley belonged to the Mar-

216 A Bedfordshire Family

quis of Bute. We doubt if the Marquis owned any portion of Farley.

Davis makes some extraordinary mistakes about the history of Farley. He says it was part of the gift of Offa, King of the Mercians, to the Abbot of St Albans; that it formed part of Lord Wenlock's property forfeited to the Crown; that the King gave or sold it to Archbishop Thomas Rotherham; that there was a castle at Farley, of the ruins of which he gives a sketch, said to have been made in the year 1760; that "the mansion and manor passed to Sir Francis Crawley and remained in the family ever since,"—all of which statements are absolutely without a vestige of foundation in truth.

It was Biscot that was given by Offa to St Albans; neither Farley nor any part of it ever belonged to Lord Wenlock; it never was the property of Archbishop Rotherham, and there never was a castle at Farley. The sketch given by Davis refers to Farley Castle, on the borders of Somerset and Wiltshire. Neither the mansion, the manor, nor any other portion of the property at Farley in Luton ever belonged to Sir Francis Crawley, or to any of his descendants until Sir

Francis had been gathered to his fathers for more than half a century.

The history of Farley begins with the commencement of the reign of Henry II., 1154. King Henry, on his journeys to Normandy, usually landed on the French coast at a place called Wissant or Witsand, in Picardy. Near this place was the hospital of Santingfield, and the monks in charge of the hospital had on several occasions hospitably entertained King Henry and his attendants. Soon after Henry came to the throne, he determined to give the monks of Santingfield a substantial recognition of their courtesy. With the assistance of his Chancellor, the celebrated Thomas à Becket, while at St Omer he prepared and executed the following charter (translated from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi., part 2, p. 639):—

A.D. 1154. Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou, to the Bishop of Lincoln and the Justices and Sheriffs and Barons and Ministers and all his faithful people of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted in perpetual alms to the Hospital of Sanctingefeld next Wytsand, and the brethren there serving God, the land of Farley next

218 A Bedfordshire Family

Lecton (Lectonam) as far as the land of the church of Lecton and as far as the land of Richard son of Wulward and as far as the land of Geoffrey the merchant and all the land of Wyperley as far as the way of (de) Presteley and as that way divides towards Harpenden; and in the manor of Luttershall three hides of lands and ten acres of forest to make their buildings. And I will and firmly command that they have and hold all these things aforesaid in peace and freely and quietly, in wood and in plain, in meadows and feedings, and in all places, with all their liberties and customs. Witness, Thomas (Becket) the Chancellor, and William, the King's brother, and Richard de Humeris the Constable and Warren son of Ger Gam and Mauser Byset. Given at St Omer.

Following the above on the Patent Roll (but not in Dugdale) are letters patent of Henry II. to the whole "halimote" of Luton and the halimote of Brehall, commanding that the hospital of Santingfeld may hold peaceably according to the above charter. These letters patent are also dated at St Omer, and were possibly issued at the same time as the charter.

Dugdale tells us that the lands so granted to the hospital of Santingfield both in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire were afterwards colonised.

With the grant of timber mentioned in Henry's charter, the monks forthwith erected buildings at Farley, and placed in residence there a master and brethren. The earliest master whose name has come down to us was a foreigner named Mauger, who was master in the year 1198. Another hospital was erected at Ludgershall: sometimes both institutions were governed by the same master. These hospitals were provided for the use of the poor, and especially for poor travellers.

Baldwin de Bethune, Earl of Albemarle, lord of the manor of Luton in the reign of Richard I., seems to have been favourably impressed with the work of the monks at Farley, and gave them forty-five acres of land at Luton, in addition to the lands already given them by the late King. Bethune's gift was confirmed by King John by a charter dated 28th January 1204. The hospital also possessed a mill on the river Lea, possibly leased to them by the lord of Luton manor.

Like most other religious institutions of the time, Farley had its miraculous sacred relics, and the institution being a hospital, the relics

were, as a matter of course, of the Apostle St Luke. Some sacrilegious robbers stole these relics in the year 1431, and made off with them in the direction of London. They were pursued by "the men of Dunstable" as far as Barnet, where the thieves were overpowered, and the relics were recovered and restored to the monks at Farley. It is not at all improbable that this robbery was engineered by the monks themselves, in order to attract notice and public sympathy to an institution which was rapidly losing influence with the people of England. The first blow aimed at monastic institutions in England was in the year 1414, but we think it historically clear that long before that year men were asking the question whether these foreign communities, and indeed whether these religious houses generally, in England were fulfilling a useful purpose. It is too generally accepted, by the man in the street, and by some of our platform orators, who talk loudly about the rapacity of Henry VIII. and his court in the matter of abbey lands, that the dissolution of the monasteries, the confiscation of their endowments, and the reformation of the Church,

originated with King Henry, and were forced by him upon an enslaved people for his own selfish ends. It is assuming a great deal too much, to suppose that such a wholesale spoliation of property belonging to religious institutions could have been effected so drastically and have met with such ready acceptance by the people of England, unless there had been at the back of the movement a conviction that these institutions were no longer working for good, and that it was in the interests of society that they should cease to exist. It seems to us clear that in the year 1414, in the reign of Henry V., men's thoughts had already gone a long way in that direction. The vested interests of the great religious houses were far too powerful, and public opinion was not sufficiently ripe, for overt action against the English monastic houses ; but the foreign religious houses were subject to a large amount of prejudice, and were probably often centres of foreign intrigue and popish pretensions, and were therefore open to attack. The Parliament of Henry V., in 1414, gave to the King authority to suppress all priories of foreign orders in the

kingdom, and to appropriate the income of the endowments of such institutions. The foreign institutions suppressed by Henry V. are said to have numbered 122. There was some doubt whether hospitals, such as Farley, came within the category of foreign priories; but in the reign of Henry VI. (A.D. 1448) the doubt was removed, and Parliament attacked the foreign hospitals. The hospitals at Farley and Ludgershall were included with such institutions, and the income from their endowments was granted, probably by way of lease, by Henry VI. to King's College, Cambridge. By the year 1522, however, these endowments were again in the hands of the Crown, and were leased for ninety-two years to George Rotherham. This George Rotherham was one of the nephews of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England. Cobbe tells us that George Rotherham was appointed, by his uncle, Apparitor at York. Whether he was an ecclesiastic or not we do not know, but he had a mistress named Alice Beckett, and by her he had a son, to whom he gave the name of George Rotherham. In 1533 this illegitimate Rotherham obtained from Queen

Stockwood *alias* Wyperley 223

Mary letters patent authorising him to purchase the following properties amongst others:—

The farm of the chapel of Farley with the manors of Farley and Wyperley in Luton, Beds, and the manor of Ludgershall, Bucks.

This Farley and Wyperly estate comprised, as we said before, between five and six hundred acres, and continued in the possession of the Farley Rotherhams until the year 1708. Thomas Rotherham, the then head of the family, had no son, which was probably the reason for his selling, in 1708, to Richard Crawley, a fair portion of his land. Stockwood, *alias* Wyperley, lay on one side of the road from Luton to Caddington, and the Farley land on the opposite side. The property sold to Richard Crawley was—

All that capital mansion-house known as Stockwood *alias* Whipperly, together with the appurtenances known as New Woodfield, Pond Close, Stockwood Ciose, Slipp, and Highwood.

These names all indicate lands within the present Stockwood Park, and also in the direction of Woodside and Slipend. Thomas Rotherham seems to have retained Farley, and to have left it to his wife, Elizabeth Rotherham, who in

224 A Bedfordshire Family

1715 was living at Kensington. By her will, dated the 23rd May 1715, she left £2, 12s. yearly, charged on Hawkwood Close, Brooms Close, and Hawthill, to provide twelve penny loaves every Sunday to twelve poor women present at divine service in Luton Church. Her Farley property she left to her daughters.

At the time Richard Crawley purchased Stockwood there was no park there, and it is said that this "capital mansion-house called Stockwood" was situated much nearer to Woodside than is the present mansion.

Richard Crawley also purchased or acquired, through his marriage with Sarah Dashwood, lands at Wendover.

In 1709 the old manor-house and lands of "Plenties" in Stopsley were owned by the Rev. Guy Hillersden. We have already described this property as one of the homes of the Crawleys early in the fifteenth century. Richard Crawley bought this property in 1709, and it has remained part of the family estates ever since.

Richard Crawley was in the prime of life when, in 1710, "being mindful of the frail and

uncertain condition of this transitory life," he made his will. He directed that he should be interred "decently but in private manner, with his ancestors in Someris Chapel in Luton Church." The will gave an earnest direction to his wife, that his sons should not lead idle lives, but be brought up to some profession, trade, or employment. He died at his house at Doctors' Commons on the 21st March 1712. We learn from the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* that he was buried in Someries Chapel. He left two sons and five daughters. Of his two sons, John, the eldest, was educated with a view to his entering Parliament, and Samuel for the consular service. He was British consul at Smyrna, where he amassed a considerable fortune. He married Maria, daughter of James Dunant of Constantinople.

CHAPTER IX

John Crawley, M.P.—Sale of Someries—Purchase of Limbury and Biscot—Erection of a Mansion at Stockwood—Marriage with a Daughter of Sir S. Vanacker-Sambrooke—Death of John Crawley.

JOHN CRAWLEY, eldest son of Richard Crawley, of Doctors' Commons and of Northaw, Co. Herts, was a minor when his father died, in the year 1712. His mother continued to reside at Northaw, which had been left to her by her husband. We have no record of the date or place of his birth, but, as his father's ante-nuptial settlement was dated the 24th of October 1699, he could not have been more than twelve years old when his father died; and assuming that the marriage took place immediately after the date of the settlement, he may have succeeded to the estates as early as 1721. The executors of Richard Crawley's will were his widow, "Mrs Sarah Crawley, his loving brother George Dashwood, Esquire," brother of Mrs Crawley, and

“his good friend Mr John Cheek.” By judicious management of the estates during the eight or nine years of the young heir’s minority, the executors were able to start John Crawley with a large personal estate over and above the rent-roll of the family property. Shortly after he came of age, namely, in December 1724, the young “Squire” sold Someries to Sir Robert Napier, who pulled down a good part of the old ruins. At the same time Mr Crawley purchased two considerable properties in Limbury and Biscot. These places are inseparably connected with the very earliest history of Luton, for it is of Limbury, then called *Lygeanburgh*, that we read, in the year 571, as having been attacked and taken possession of by Cutha, the brother of Ceanlin; while in the name and situation of Biscot we have the next record, in order of date, connected with the history of Luton.

Of the thirty-one manors or reputed manors into which Luton has at one time or another been divided and subdivided, by far the most interesting is the manor of Biscot. Its traditional history takes us back to the dawn of Christianity in the pagan kingdom of Mercia,

228 A Bedfordshire Family

while the first incident of recorded history is immediately connected with the foundation by King Offa, "the Terrible," in the year 791, of the famous Abbey of St Alban. In the year following the opening of the Abbey, King Offa gave, amongst other benefactions, by way of endowment of the Abbey, "the land of five manentes in Luton." The charter containing this grant is the earliest charter having reference to any place within the borders of Bedfordshire, while the lands themselves possess the special distinction of having been the very earliest in the county devoted to religious purposes. In the wording of King Offa's charter there is evidence that the same lands had been devoted to religious purposes at a period yet earlier than the charter. The King described them as "the land which Abbot Alhmund, who had deceitfully neglected the fyrd, gave me by way of reconciliation" (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ii. 224). There is no record of the fact, but it has been conjectured that the lands in question had been devoted to the Church by a grant of King Oswy of Mercia to the first Bishop of Mercia.

It is an interesting fact that these "five

manentes" have, through all their history, extending over a period of more than eleven hundred years, retained a separate identity from the hamlet of Limbury, with which for all fiscal and local government purposes they have been combined for many centuries. Most of the thirty-one manors in Luton have, for centuries past, lost all traces of their situation, extent, and identity; but Biscot stands out to-day as distinct and definable as ever it was in its history, notwithstanding the fact that for many generations it has ceased to exist as a manor. Other interesting features of this property were that, while Luton and its other hamlets, being a royal estate and free from taxation, was not placed in any hundred, Biscot was placed in the hundred of Flitt: after the Conquest, King William's steward, Ralph Taillebois, took Biscot from the hundred of Flitt, and restored it to the King's manor of Luton, from whence it had originally been separated by Offa.¹

¹ It seems probable that Ralph Taillebois intended that Biscot should, thenceforth, be merged in the royal manor of Luton; in effect, it never was so merged, but

230 A Bedfordshire Family

The Saxons called these lands belonging to St Albans by the name of "Bishopscote," and by that name they have been known ever since. From this name it has been considered an accepted fact that, at the time it received that name, there was here a house or place of residence for the Bishop when he visited this part of his extensive diocese. How long the manor remained attached to the Abbey, and when it ceased to belong to the Abbey, it is now impossible to determine; but it is certain that before the days of Edward the Confessor the separation must have taken place. The incursions of the Danes into these parts in the ninth century led to a division of the whole of the territory now known as the parish of Luton into two parts; and by the treaty between King Alfred and Guthrum the lands on the east and north sides of the river Lea were ceded to the Danes, and those on the south and west of the river remained in the kingdom of Mercia. This partition divided the manor of Biscot into two

remained as separate and distinct a property as it had been from the date of its original separation. In Domesday Survey we find it separately assessed.

parts, and, as the portion remaining in the hands of the Saxons was much too close to the Danish boundary to be held and defended by the Abbey, it seems certain that it was at that time the "five manses" were lost to the Abbey. At some period between the year 870 and the time of Edward the Confessor, probably in the time of Athelstan, 925-940, a fresh endowment for religious purposes was provided for Luton, but was this time attached to Luton Church, and not to the Abbey. This latter endowment consisted of five hides, about equivalent to the "five manses" given by Offa, but situate in another part of the parish, namely, the land afterwards known as the manor of Dallow.

At the time of the Survey, Biscot manor was in the hands of one Edwin, a man of Asgar, the Staller, but it was taken by Ralph Taillebois and added to the King's manor of Luton as above mentioned. It so continued until the year 1115, when, upon the restoration of St Albans Abbey, King Henry I. gave the manor of Biscot to Abbot Richard; and thus there was restored to the Abbey, on the occasion of the restoration of the Monastery, in 1115, the very

232 A Bedfordshire Family

lands at Biscot which had been given to the Abbey when it was founded by Offa in 792. The Abbot attached the manor of Biscot to the Abbey's manor of Dallow, which had also been made over to the Abbot, and the overlordship of Dallow manor continued until long after the dissolution of St Albans Abbey.

The manor was granted away by Abbot John de Celle in the reign of King John, and subsequently it belonged to the De Philiberts, the De Berefords, the Acworths, the Dearmers; and about the end of the sixteenth century it became the property of the Wingate family, to whom belonged also the windmill now standing on the hill overlooking Luton. In 1724 the Wingates sold the manor to the above-mentioned John Crawley, together with the manor-house of Biscot. The windmill was not included in the sale, but was leased by the Wingates for 999 years, and followed a separate descent.

The manor-house of Biscot is an interesting relic, and has been the subject of a mistake by Davis in his *History of Luton*, 1855. Mr Cobbe says that Davis was misled by Speed, who erroneously placed the religious house or nunnery

of Markyate-Cell or Merkyate in Bedfordshire, instead of Hertfordshire. The description of the nunnery was "The Holy Trinity de Bosco," but Speed calls it the "nunnery of Bisco near Mergate," and Davis seems to have jumped to the conclusion that there was a nunnery at Biscot, to which Speed was referring, and that the manor-house at Biscot was the place in question. It never was a religious house, but bears every indication of a strongly protected house or castle of the feudal ages—in fact, just such a place as Robert Fitzwalter, or Philip de Lymbury, might have erected and occupied. The remains of the ancient building are now a farmhouse occupied by Mrs Craig, the widow of the late Mr James Craig.

The description given by Davis is sufficiently accurate to be quoted. He says:—

"It must have been a place of great strength and extent, as the walls now standing are very thick. At one end of the house are two strong buttresses of Totternhoe stone, evidently part of the original building. Some of the chimney-pieces, in their original completeness, still remain; they are massive and built of the same stone. The timbers in various parts of the building are of oak, and of great strength.

234 A Bedfordshire Family

In the roof the timbers are richly moulded; across the centre—forming one of the tie-beams—is a curved beam of oak, of an immense depth and thickness, well wrought, and with the appearance of having been polished. There are many other remains of the original structure interesting to antiquaries. In all parts of the garden are remains of strong foundations. A deep moat surrounds the site, and the position of the old drawbridge may still be seen. The house and garden form a quadrangle."

In a map of Biscot dated 1734 this moat is called "Oakley's Moat."

Amongst the many famous men associated with Luton, few have been greater than the mighty baron of King John's time, Robert Fitzwalter, who owned, and probably erected, this moated castle, the manor-house of his manor of Biscot. It is to be hoped that this interesting relic of the times of King John will be carefully preserved.

In one of the fields at Biscot, many years ago, were dug up two large ancient iron chests. One of them is now in the hall at Stockwood, and the other is in the vestry at Biscot Church. They appear to us to be of the same period as the iron chest in the museum of the Record

Office, in which were formerly deposited the volumes of the Domesday Survey.

Mr Crawley's purchase of Limbury and Biscot in the year 1724 did not include the whole of the lands within those manors. The old manor-house at Limbury and about 350 acres of land became the property of William Hay, a wealthy draper and wool-stapler, whose representatives in 1833 sold it to a Mr Waller of Luton, from whom it passed to his son, the late Mr James Waller, who married a Miss Blundell of Luton.

During John Crawley's minority he resided with his mother, first in Bloomsbury Square, and later in St George's, Hanover Square; but about the year 1738 it seems to have been thought desirable that he should reside at, or near, Luton, so he became tenant of Rothamstead Park, at Harpenden, six miles from Luton, a property belonging to an ancient family of the name of Wittewringle, who had adopted the English name of Bennet, and later Bennet-Lawes. The late Mr Bennet-Lawes, the famous agriculturist, was created a baronet, and his son, on succeeding to the title, reverted to the ancient family name of Wittewringle.

236 A Bedfordshire Family

In 1728 Mr Crawley purchased a small farm, comprising a house and 51 acres of land (Crawley Paper No. 788), situate at Cowridge End. In 1732 he bought a farm at Farley, abutting on Farley Green (Crawley Paper No. 823), and in 1738 he made a further addition to the extent of his Stockwood property.

It seems probable that Mr Crawley's residence at Harpenden was for the purpose of directing the laying out of the park at Stockwood and superintending the erection of the mansion there, which he completed in the year 1740, at a cost of sixty thousand pounds, a sum which probably included the cost of enclosing the park and laying out the grounds.

The mansion is a rectangular building of two storeys and an attic, with a hipped roof and a balustraded parapet. It is built of red brick with stone dressings. The principal entrance is under a pillared portico, and the building faces north-east. There are an outer and an inner hall, the latter lighted by a lantern in the roof. The staircase is of massive oak, on the east side of the inner hall. Facing you as you ascend the staircase is a wind-dial connected with a weather-

cock on the roof. The walls are decorated after the style of James in the reign of Queen Anne. The reception rooms are on the west and south-west sides of the building, and open the one into the other. The floors of the halls and the reception rooms are of oak parquet. The kitchen and other offices are on the east side of the building, and open into the stable-yard. The gardens are extensive and beautifully timbered, but the chief delight of the grounds are the walled-in, old-fashioned rose-gardens. Stockwood is famous for its roses. The park stands upwards of five hundred feet above the sea-level. It is bordered to the north-east by the Farley road, running from Luton to Caddington and Markyate, towards the west by the road connecting Farley road with the London road, and on the south by the London road. There are lodges on the Farley road, and the road between Farley road and London road. In the London road there is another smaller lodge. Between the Farley road lodge and the house is a fine avenue of chestnut trees. The home farm is situate outside the park, on the north side of Farley road, the farm buildings standing on

238 A Bedfordshire Family

the site of the ancient hospital of Farley. The whole of the park is within the borough of Luton, and the lighting and water are supplied from the gas and water companies at Luton. In extent the park and grounds comprise 260 acres.

Whether the house suggested an alliance with a wealthy heiress, or the alliance with a wealthy heiress necessitated the building of the mansion, we cannot say; but on the 22nd of May 1740 the marriage settlement between John Crawley and Susanna Sambrooke, daughter of Sir Samuel Vanacker-Sambrooke of Bush Mill, in the county of Middlesex, Baronet, was duly executed, and the marriage took place on the 29th of the same month. The settlement on Mr Crawley's part included the manors of Stopsley and Plenties, the farms of Eaton Green, Wigmore Hall, Faulkner's Hall, the manor of Biscot with Biscot Place, Little Limbury farm, Nether Crawley farm, Crawley Green farm, Blackwater Fields, Great Haverings, Little Haverings, Knights Haverings Wells, the first Haverings Pond, Woodward's Croft, Langly Spring, lands at Biscot and Warden

Hill and Galley Hill Fields, Stockwood and Farley, and lastly the tithes of Luton, Stockwood, and Biscot, with their respective tithe-barns.

As the lady brought into the Crawley family the inheritance of a fine estate in North Bedfordshire consisting of nearly 3000 acres, it is necessary we should say something of the family of Vanacker-Sambrooke. We might content ourselves by referring the reader to a learned work by Mr Arthur W. Crawley-Boevey, entitled *The Perverse Widow, and Memorials of the Boevey Family*; but as that work comprises over three hundred and fifty pages, we will briefly extract the following particulars.

In the reign of Charles II. Nicholas Van Acker or Vanacker, gentleman, lord of the manor of Erith, in Kent, was naturalised by Act 12 Car. II. cap. 58, and married Susanna, daughter of James Butler, Esq., of Amberley Castle, Sussex. Their youngest daughter, Judith, married Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, Knight, and her eldest son, Samuel, who took the name of Vanacker-Sambrooke, succeeded his uncle, Sir John Vanacker, Baronet, in the baronetcy. How he came to succeed his uncle is too long a story

to insert here, but the facts can be clearly seen in the work above mentioned.

Sir Samuel Vanacker-Sambrooke married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nathan Wright, Kt., Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and their youngest daughter married our John Crawley, Esq., of Stockwood. Sir Samuel owned, amongst other estates, the manors and lands of Keysoe, Little Stoughton, Rayleigh or Weymonster, Partenhall, Thurleigh, and Bolnhurst in Bedfordshire. In 1734 Sir Jeremy Vanacker-Sambrooke was returned M.P. for Bedford Borough.

Upon the failure of heirs of Sir Samuel, the reversion in these manors came to Mrs Crawley. The title-deeds and documents relating to these manors amongst the Crawley Papers go back to the year 1390, practically contemporaneous with our commencement of the Crawley pedigree, when the manors above mentioned formed part of the estate of the De Greys, Earls of Kent.

By this union can be traced connections between the Crawleys of Stockwood, the Crawley-Boeveys of Gloucestershire, the Vanackers, the Sambrookes, the Wittewrongles of Harpenden, and the present Lord Aldenham, and through

these several families with a considerable section of the aristocracy of the country.

Mrs Crawley also brought to her husband a number of houses in London.

In the same year, namely, 1740, John Crawley purchased about 44 acres of land at Farley (Crawley Paper No. 878). In the following year, 1741, he seems to have been desirous of diverting the road connecting Farley road with the London road farther to the west, towards Woodside, to enable him to extend his park on that side. To effect this, he petitioned the Crown for a warrant under the Great Seal, and an "inquisition" was ordered to be held on the subject before the Sheriff of the county. The inquisition was taken at Luton on the 30th March 1741, by John White, Esq., Sheriff, when the following "honest and lawful men of the bailiwick," namely :—

Sir Robert Napier, Bart.,
 Sir John Chester, Bart.,
 Sir Humphry Monoux, Bart.,
 Sir Boteler Chernock, Bart.,
 Charles Halsey, Esq.,
 Thoswihan Brandreth, Esq.,
 Francis Jessop, Esq.,

Thomas Bigg, Esq.,
John Nodes, Esq.,
William Hale, Esq.,
William Baslohum, Esq.,
Thomas Crawley, Esq.,
Thomas Groom, Esq., and
John Miller, Esq., Gentleman,

being sworn and charged, upon their oath, said it would not be "to the damage or prejudice of the King, or of any other, if our Lord the King should grant to John Crawley, Esq., a licence to inclose a part of the said road or lane called Stockwood Lane, leading from the Markett Street road to the London road by the mansion-house of the said John Crawley, and to substitute for the road, so to be inclosed, another road, full as commodious for travellers as the said road to be inclosed" (Crawley Paper No. 883).

On the 24th of May 1745 letters patent under the Great Seal were issued, authorising Mr Crawley to make the diversion.

This method of procuring the diversion of a public highway was, no doubt, extremely costly, but it was some years before the Legislature substituted for it the present more useful procedure

of an order of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The Act 13 Geo. III., 1773, effected this useful reform. The first diversion made in Bedfordshire under that Act was in 1777, when, on the 12th of March, the Court of Quarter Sessions, on the view of two of the "honest and lawful men," who had sat at the inquisition on the diversion of Stockwood Lane, namely, Thos-wihan Brandreth, Esq., and John Miller, Gentleman, a footpath leading from Houghton Regis to Dunstable was ordered to be diverted.

At the time of his marriage, in 1740, John Crawley was representing the borough of Marlborough in Wiltshire in the House of Commons. His first election was on the 28th February 1736, and as the Parliament had been elected in 1734, it is evident that he was returned at a by-election. The borough of Marlborough was a favoured borough, returning no less than two members to Parliament, even after the Reform Act of 1832. As late as 1851 the number of electors within the parliamentary borough was only 237. We have no information as to whether Mr Crawley was returned as a supporter of the ministry of Mr Walpole or of the

244 A Bedfordshire Family

Tory chief, Sir William Wyndham, nor do we know under whose patronage he entered Parliament for this pocket-borough. One of the largest owners of land in the neighbourhood of Harpenden was the celebrated Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough; and as the Duke had taken his title from the town of Marlborough, it is probable that the borough belonged to the Duchess, and that she knew Mr Crawley personally and interested herself in his election. The Parliament of 1734 was dissolved in 1741, and Mr Crawley was on the 5th of May 1741 again returned for Marlborough, and represented it until the dissolution in 1747. The new Parliament met on the 10th of November 1747, but Mr Crawley does not appear as a member of that or any succeeding Parliament. The great Duchess had died in 1744, which fact may have had something to do with Mr Crawley's having ceased to represent the borough.

In the year 1736 Mr Crawley served as High Sheriff for Bedfordshire.

The year following his marriage, we find John Crawley and his wife, and the trustees of his wife's marriage settlement, carrying through

various transactions relating to Mrs Crawley's house-property in London, the manors of Keysoe and Thurleigh, and the rectory of Keysoe. In 1734 he transferred to his mother, then of St George's, Hanover Square, an important mortgage on property in Shropshire, such mortgage apparently forming part of the provision made for the dowager Mrs Crawley.

In 1752 he completed his purchase of that part of the manor or farm of Greathamstead which had been alienated by a Crawley in the year 1662. It comprised about 110 acres. The property forms part of the farms of Eaton Green and Wigmore Hall (Crawley Papers Nos. 924, 925). On the 30th of December of the same year he bought of William Freeman of Leagrave four acres of land at Stopsley (Crawley Papers Nos. 929 and 930).

We have already referred to Mr Crawley's purchase in 1724 of the manors of Biscot and Limbury. On the 12th of January 1754 he purchased from a Mr Joshua Iremonger a messuage and 571 acres of land at Biscot, and thus became owner of nearly the whole of the lands in Biscot. Some of the land was marshy

246 A Bedfordshire Family

ground, and parts subject to floods, and nearly the whole was scattered over the open common fields. Being thus owner of nearly the whole of Biscot, Mr Crawley was able to divide the land into compact farms. In later years, by extensive land drainage works, made under the direction of the late Mr Bailey-Denton, the land has been made as useful as any on the Crawley estates.

In 1759 John Crawley purchased another messuage and about 35 acres of land, most of it enclosed, part of the property known as Cowridge End, and comprising the old farmhouse and land on the west side of Cowridge End Lane (Crawley Papers Nos. 964 and 965). The same year Mr Crawley purchased other lands near Round Green (Crawley Paper No. 966), and the document No. 968 effected an exchange by which Mr Crawley transferred to the trustees of the Dunstable Charity two closes adjoining their farm, receiving in exchange two closes abutting on his lands at Cowridge End.

In the vicinity of Round Green, and now forming part of the Cowridge End farm, belonging to the Crawley estate, is an ancient

enclosure commonly known as "Bottles Close." The name is probably a corruption of "Battle Close." In 1745 this close belonged to Anthony Sherlock, an innkeeper at Luton. In October 1761 Mr Crawley purchased it of Anthony Sherlock's widow, and added it to Cowridge End farm (Crawley Paper No. 970). In the following month Mr Crawley purchased nine acres of land at Farley from John Nodes, Esq.

In 1762 Samuel Crawley, British consul at Smyrna, died, leaving a considerable estate to his children. He was brother to John Crawley of Stockwood.

We are not quite clear as to the situation of a hill in Luton called Berry Hill, but the description suggests the neighbourhood of Stockwood. In 1766 John Crawley purchased of Anthony Sherlock's widow a close of land called Berry Hill Close, situate on Berry Hill. This was the last recorded purchase of land by John Crawley. He died on the 9th of September 1767, and his will, dated the 11th April of the same year, was proved on the 31st of December 1767. He left the whole of his real and personal estates, subject to his wife's jointure therein, to

248 A Bedfordshire Family

his son John and his issue male, and failing such issue, then to his son Samuel and his issue male.

Mr John Crawley left two sons, the above-mentioned John Crawley and Samuel Crawley, and two daughters, named Susanna and Sarah. Susanna married in April 1798 John Keet, Clerk, Rector of Hadley, Herts. She was born 17th of October 1744, and died 24th of July 1830 without issue. The second daughter, Sarah, married Thomas Halsey, Esq., of Great Gaddesden, Herts, on the 18th of March 1784.

Thomas Halsey was M.P. for Hertfordshire in the Parliaments of 1768, 1774, and 1780. He built the present mansion called Gaddesden Place. An ancestor of Thomas Halsey in the reign of Henry VIII. received a grant of the rectory of Great Gaddesden, with the right of patronage to the vicarage; and John Halsey, great-grandson of the Halsey of the reign of Henry VIII., was one of the Masters in Chancery, and was knighted. Several generations of the family served in Parliament as representatives of Hertfordshire. The present owner of Gaddesden Place, the Right Honourable Thomas

Frederick Halsey, M.P., was member for Hertfordshire from 1874 to 1906, and in 1899 was chairman of the Standing Orders and Selection Committees in the House of Commons, a post he retained until 1906. He is chairman of the Hertfordshire County Council, and chairman of the Hertfordshire Court of Quarter Sessions. By his marriage in 1865 with Mary Julia, youngest daughter of F. O. Wells, Esq., and sister of Mrs John Sambrook¹ Crawley, the two families again became united by marriage.

It appears from Mr John Crawley's will that his wife had a house in London, called Argyle House, presumably their town residence. He directed that he should be buried in the chancel of the parish church of Luton.

¹ The Crawleys dropped the final "e" when they used the name of Sambrook as a Christian name.

CHAPTER X

John Crawley the Second of Stockwood Park—Death of Miss Sarah Crawley—Sheriff—His Brother, Samuel Crawley of Ragnall Hall, married to Miss Eliza Rankin—Marquis of Bute entertains the Freeholders of Luton.

JOHN CRAWLEY, eldest son of the John Crawley who formed the subject of the preceding chapter, was born on the 7th September 1743, and was therefore twenty-four years old when he succeeded to the estates. Two years later, namely, in 1769, he succeeded to his aunt, Miss Judith Vanacker-Sambrooke's share, in the North Bedfordshire property, and thus became absolute owner of that estate. In 1770 he purchased a small piece of land in Winsdon Field, Luton, from Francis Wilkins of Farley, yeoman, and in the same year another close of land, comprising about nine acres, in Maiden Field, now part of Maiden Common farm.

On the 6th May 1773 his aunt, Miss Sarah

Crawley, of St James's, Westminster, one of the five daughters of Richard Crawley, of the Court of Admiralty, died. From the wording of her will one can picture her as a lady of some consequence and position in the fashionable world of Queen Anne's time. She left to her nephew, John Crawley, besides a bequest of money, some jewellery, left by her mother, and "two small family pictures of great-great-grandfathers, one of which was one of the judges in King Charles the First's time and the other was his father." To her brother John's other children, namely, Samuel, Susanna, and Sarah, she left £200 each "as a small token of my love and regard for them, for, as they are so greatly provided for, they want nothing from me." She made a small bequest to her aunt Henrietta, Dowager Lady Sebright. Her servants received substantial mementoes of her appreciation of their services. The residue of her fortune she left equally between her two nephews, Ambrose and Richard Crawley, the sons of her brother Samuel, who had been British consul at Smyrna. Her estate amounted to £36,000.

252 A Bedfordshire Family

The mention in this will of the two small family pictures of Sir Francis Crawley and of his father, Thomas Crawley, is interesting. The family were unconsciously indebted to their lawyers for the preservation of their family papers. It is to be regretted that they were not themselves more careful in preserving the family portraits and pictures. All trace of these portraits has been lost. The portrait of Sir Francis, above mentioned, could not have been the portrait we have reproduced from the large picture now at Stockwood. The portraits mentioned were probably what Samuel Pepys called "portraits in little," that is, "miniatures," a style which seems to have been introduced in the reign of Charles II.

John Crawley in November 1771 effected another small exchange of four acres of land at Cowridge End from the trustees of the Dunstable Charity for some pieces of land near Warden Hills.

There were several transactions dealing with the manors of Stopsley and Biscot and lands at Farley in the month of May 1772, preparatory to the important event of the young squire's

Marriage of John Crawley 253

marriage (Crawley Papers Nos. 1012 to 1019 inclusive). On the 20th June 1772 a deed of settlement on the marriage between John Crawley and Elizabeth Hawley was executed (Crawley Paper No. 1022). The parties to the deed were John Crawley himself; Susanna Crawley (formerly Susanna Vanacker-Sambrooke), his mother; James Hawley of Russell Street, London, M.D. (father of the bride); Elizabeth Hawley, the bride; Samuel Crawley of Bishopsgate Street, London (John Crawley's brother); Robert Banks Hodgkinson of New Burlington Street, London, Esquire; George Wright of Gayhurst, Esquire; Joseph Musgrave of Suffolk Street, London, Esquire; George Musgrave of New Bond Street, London, Esquire, and Henry Hawley (nephew of Dr Hawley).

Dr James Hawley, M.D., F.R.S., of Leybourne Grange, Kent, belonged to a family distinguished for several generations as physicians and men of science. Miss Elizabeth Hawley seems to have been an only child; but the doctor's nephew, Henry Hawley, carried on the family history and was made a baronet (Burke's *Baronetage and Peerage*).

254 A Bedfordshire Family

In December 1772 John Crawley purchased of Thomas Howard of "Kensworth Lynch" five acres of land in Biscot. In March 1773 an important exchange of lands was effected between John Crawley and the Rev. Richard Eaton of Downham, in the county of Norfolk. We think this Mr Eaton was a descendant of the Rev. Christopher Eaton, who succeeded Thomas Pomfret as Vicar of Luton in 1706, and was Vicar till his death in 1745.

The above-mentioned exchange of lands was followed by a number of similar transactions between 1773 and the end of the century, which have given us occasion for much thought on the subject of the enclosure of the open common fields of Luton and its hamlets.

Amongst the small freeholders of Luton, who had owned lands here for many generations, was a family of the name of "Freeth." In 1751 there was a John Freeth of Luton, an iron-monger, who held lands at Cowridge End, which in 1774 were vested in his widow, Sarah Freeth. John Freeth had a son, John Freeth junior, who was a currier and owned a house in the south end of Luton town. The property owned by

Sarah Freeth upon her death was put up for sale by auction, and was purchased by Mr John Crawley. The land in question forms part of the Cowridge End farm, now owned by Mr Francis Crawley. The Freeths were members of the “ Society of Friends ” at Luton.

Mr John Crawley was Sheriff for Bedfordshire in the year 1774. His accounts and official quittance of the same are amongst the Crawley Papers (No. 1038). From these accounts we gather that his under-sheriff was William Hampson of Luton. “ Lawyer Hampson ” was reputed to be a wealthy man, and seems to have been engaged in most of the parish enclosures around Luton. Like many other local lawyers in the country, he started a local bank. He was Lord Bute’s lawyer, steward of the manor of Luton and many other manors, solicitor for the Sebright family of Beechwood, Flamstead, and in fact transacted the local business of most of the principal landowners for some miles round Luton. His son, Leonard Hampson, succeeded him, and took into partnership, under the style of “ Hampson & Austin,” Mr Charles Austin, a

256 A Bedfordshire Family

solicitor who had served his articles with his uncle, John Griffiths, a partner with Mr Hampson in the legal business. The banking business of Hampson & Austin continued until the 4th March 1824, when, upon the death of Mr Leonard Hampson, it being discovered that Mr Hampson's estate was bankrupt, the bank was obliged to stop payment. Mr Charles Austin lost his own and some of his wife's fortune in the bank failure, but succeeded to his uncle, John Griffiths', share in the legal business, which he carried on in conjunction with Mr Edward Chilwell Williamson until Mr Austin's death in 1842.

During Mr John Crawley's term of office as Sheriff of the county in 1774, he conducted an election of two members of Parliament for Bedfordshire. The candidates were John, Earl of Upper Ossory, Robert Henry Ongley, Esq., and the Hon. Thomas Hampden. The poll was taken at Bedford, and lasted two days, namely, the 20th and 21st October. The result of the poll was:—

The Earl of Upper Ossory	.	.	1078
Robert Henry Ongley	.	.	986
The Hon. Thomas Hampden	.		715

The number of voters polled from the Luton district was ninety-four only, namely :—

From Luton town	70
„ East and West Hyde	4
„ Leagrave	5
„ Limbury	4
„ Stopsley	11

and of these, twenty-one were non-residents. Amongst the residents were some well-known Luton names, such as: Dr Chase, Joseph and John Everett, Thomas Sibley, Richard and Daniel Brown, John Hawkes, Daniel Gutteridge, John Butterfield, Daniel Knight, John Taylor, John Haydon, Edward Glenister, Samuel Marsom, Francis Pigott, William Hay, John Cain, William Cheney, Thomas Twigg, Michael Sibley, William Freeman, and Thomas Rotherham.

In March of the year 1781 Mr Crawley agreed upon a considerable exchange of lands with John, Earl of Bute, the owner of Luton Hoo. The exchange was carried out by mutual deeds; but in the next generation doubts were raised by Lord Bute's successors as to whether his lordship had been legally qualified to effect such exchanges. As many years of undisturbed

258 A Bedfordshire Family

possession had elapsed since the exchanges, it was wisely decided to leave matters as they were.

In 1780 there was a sale of timber on the Stockwood estate (Crawley Paper No. 1047). Amongst the purchasers we notice the name of Thomas Hartop. It would be interesting to know if Thomas Hartop was an ancestor of the family of Hartops who now occupy three of the largest farms on the Stockwood estate.

About the year 1760 one William Hay lived in Luton, and carried on a prosperous business as a draper. He purchased much property, not merely in the town, but in the neighbouring hamlets, and was succeeded by John Hay, "draper and woolstapler." In 1787 Mr Crawley effected an exchange with John Hay of lands in the open fields of Limbury and Biscot (Crawley Paper No. 1061).

Two years later, January 1789, a similar exchange was effected of lands in the Stopsley Fields between John Crawley and Mrs Martha Morris, who owned the manor of Hayes and Hoobarn at Stopsley.

Sir John Filmer of East Sutton, Kent, Bart., in 1764 succeeded to an estate comprising

Marriage of Samuel Crawley 259

Legrave Hall and lands in Legrave, Limbury, and Biscot, which he had inherited from Beversham Filmer, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. In 1793 the third Sir John Filmer agreed with John Crawley upon an exchange of lands in the open fields.

In October 1795 Mr Crawley purchased a small tenement at Stopsley belonging to Mrs Sarah Young, together with an ancient enclosure called Butts Close.

Mr John Crawley's brother, Samuel Crawley, owned Ragnall Hall in Nottinghamshire, and visited there. As he died before his brother John, and John had no children, the marriage of Samuel Crawley to Miss Eliza Rankin demands some notice. The parties to the marriage settlement will give us some information of several members of the family. The deed, dated the 2nd May 1788, was between Nathan Wright of Conduit Street, London, Esquire, a son of the then late Lord Chancellor, and nephew of Sir Samuel Vanacker-Sambrooke; Samuel Crawley of Argyle Street, London, Esquire, the bridegroom; John Crawley of Stockwood, Esquire; Eliza Rankin of

260 A Bedfordshire Family

Ragnall, the bride ; Thomas Byron of Portugal Street, London ; Ambrose Crawley of London, Esquire, son of the late British consul at Smyrna ; James Adair, Serjeant-at-law and Recorder of London ; Henry Barlow of the Inner Temple, Esquire, and Thomas Halsey of Great Gaddesden, Esquire, uncle of John and Samuel Crawley. Miss Rankin was a neighbour of Mr Samuel Crawley of Ragnall, and an only child. The marriage settlement is a portentous-looking document of many skins, and relates mainly to the Keysoe and Thurleigh properties. The marriage was celebrated on the 3rd May 1788. Of this union there was issue only one child, named Samuel, born on 16th December 1790. Samuel Crawley, senior, died on the 16th December 1805, and was buried in Luton Church. Although a younger son, he seems to have been a wealthy man, and to have been in a position to render his brother, John Crawley of Stockwood, substantial pecuniary assistance. By his will he directed that no monument should be erected to his memory ; that twelve labourers should bear him to the grave, for which service they were to receive one guinea each.

John Crawley lived in considerable style and spent his money freely—indeed, so freely that his circumstances became somewhat involved. He borrowed £3200 of his brother Samuel on a mortgage of the Farley property in 1799 (Crawley Paper No. 1081). It is also stated that he raised money by selling the family pictures at Stockwood, including the portrait of Sir Francis Crawley, the judge. So far as we have the means of judging from the records of the family, he was the only Crawley who was in any sense a spendthrift. His extravagances, however, could not have been very serious, as there is no evidence of any serious encumbrance of the estate, nor was there any sale of real estate.

We now part company with the Crawley Papers, which have been abstracted and catalogued to the end of the eighteenth century. There are papers of some interest extending throughout the nineteenth century, which we have had the opportunity of seeing. They record numerous other additions to the family estates, some of which we may mention.

In the year 1802 there was effected a considerable exchange between Mr John Crawley

and the trustees of Ashton's Charity. We have already mentioned that one of the farms belonging to this charity was called the Church Street farm. It appears that the lands of the trustees, comprised in this farm, were very much intermixed with lands of Mr Crawley, and an exchange was therefore agreed upon, much to the convenience of the respective tenants as well as the owners. The lands were situate in the following fields:—Newland Common, Hagdell Common, Maindon Field (Maiden Common), Stockingbridge Field, Bridge Field, Blackwater Field, and Hicks or Hixon Field.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1807 is an account of a great entertainment of the freeholders of Luton and the neighbourhood by the Marquis of Bute, in which Mr John Crawley took a prominent part. The Market House was fitted up after the manner of an ancient bower, where covers were laid for one hundred and fifty persons; but as the guests numbered two hundred and forty, those who could not find room in the Market House were accommodated at the principal inns. The catering was characterised by the greatest profusion,

and the consumption of wine, judged by the moderation of the present generation, was amazing; it averaged more than three bottles per man. The style, promptness, and regularity with which everything was provided met with the most enthusiastic acknowledgment by the guests. The Marquis and his two grandsons, the Earl of Dumfries and Lord William Stuart, presided in the Market House; many loyal and patriotic toasts were duly honoured, and everything passed off as "happily as a marriage feast," until about seven o'clock in the evening, when the public excitement very nearly caused a serious accident. The Marquis, with his grandsons and Mr John Crawley, had seated themselves in a carriage drawn by four horses, when, the populace endeavouring to release the horses with the view of themselves drawing the carriage and its occupants to Luton Hoo, the horses plunged, reared, and kicked, to the great danger of everyone concerned. The gentlemen promptly leaped from the carriage, and after some difficulty the people effected their purpose; the horses were released, the gentlemen resumed their seats, and the enthusiastic Lutonians dragged the

carriage to the Hoo, where the people were plenteously regaled at "the Marquis's hospitable mansion."

The object of this entertainment of the freeholders of Luton was to celebrate the election of two members of Parliament for the county in the previous May. The poll lasted from Monday the 11th to Friday the 22nd May, and the number of votes polled from Luton was 110.

In 1808 was passed an Act for enclosing lands at Luton, 48 George III. The object of this Act was to enclose, firstly, certain lands called the Lammas Meadows in the town of Luton, lying on the west side of the Great Moor and on both sides of the river Lea between the Great Moor and Stockingstone Bridge meadow; secondly, a piece of waste called the Little Moor, and another lying next the Little Moor, on the south-west of the river Lea and on the north-west side of Barber's Lane. The whole of these lands comprised no more than 35 acres. The principal owners interested were the Marquis of Bute, John Crawley, Esq., John Sharp Palmer, gentleman, Leonard Hampson, banker, and others who had rights of common

over the Lammas Meadows. One eighteenth part of the lands was to be allotted to the Marquis of Bute as lord of the manor of Luton, and the costs of the enclosure were to be borne by the Marquis of Bute and Mr Leonard Hampson.

It is difficult to locate these lands with any precision, as the subsequent making of the new road to Barton, and later on the making of the Midland Railway, so altered the course of the river that it is by no means easy to realise what was the effect of the enclosure. A copy of the award and other papers relating to the matter are in the possession of the Luton Town Council, and may be seen at the Town Hall.

John Crawley died on the 23rd January 1815. His will was dated the 30th January 1810, and was proved on the 22nd March 1815. He was seventy-two years of age when he died, and was the last of his long race interred in Luton Church.

CHAPTER XI

Samuel Crawley of Ragnall Hall and Stockwood—John Sambrook Crawley and Francis Crawley of Stockwood.

AS his brother, Samuel Crawley of Ragnall Hall, had predeceased John Crawley on the 16th of December 1805, John Crawley was succeeded by his nephew, Samuel Crawley, junior, of Ragnall Hall and Stockwood, son of Samuel Crawley of Ragnall Hall by Eliza Rankin of Ragnall. His birth took place at Stockwood on the 16th December 1790, so that he was a little over twenty-four years of age when he succeeded his uncle, John Crawley.

He was twice married. His first wife was Theodosia Mary, eldest daughter of Robert Dynner of Gautby, in the county of Lincoln (M.P. for that county), by Lady Theodosia Mary, daughter of John, second Earl of Ashburnham.

The marriage took place on the 1st of June 1817, and they had issue only one child, a daughter, who married Clement, Comte de Mont Real. Samuel Crawley's first wife died the 3rd of January 1820. He took for his second wife Maria, eldest daughter of Christopher Musgrave, Esq., second son of Sir Philip Musgrave of Eden Hall, Cumberland, Bart., by Ann Elizabeth, second daughter and co-heir of Andrew, Lord Archer. This second marriage took place at St Marylebone on the 15th of July 1822. By this marriage Samuel Crawley had seven children, the eldest of whom was John Sambrook Crawley, who ultimately succeeded to the Crawley estates.

In the chancel of Luton Church is a tablet, on the north wall, to the memory of the first wife of Mr Samuel Crawley.

In the year 1817 Mr Samuel Crawley was High Sheriff for Bedfordshire, but we do not find any stirring event, especially effecting the county, occurring within his year of office. Mr Crawley had not the opportunity in that year of fulfilling the interesting and prominent position of returning officer at an election of

members of Parliament, or the no less onerous but more gruesome responsibility of a public execution. There was, however, one incident which profoundly moved the nation in that year, a domestic incident in the circle of the royal family, which appealed to the emotions of the people of England in a very remarkable degree—the death of the Princess Charlotte, only child of the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV. At a time when the national discontent and depression, following the close of the Peninsular War, were at a dangerous height, the general gloom had been temporarily lightened by the marriage of the Princess Charlotte, heiress presumptive of the British throne, to the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, on the 2nd of May 1816. The Prince was a man of striking appearance, of considerable accomplishments, and of remarkably amiable character. He had endeared himself to the English people, and they heartily adopted him as the most fitting partner for the young princess whom they contemplated with affection as the future Queen of England. The union of the young couple was interesting also in the unusual

Death of Princess Charlotte 269

circumstance of such marriages, that it was one of affection and choice. In the autumn of the following year the relations between the Regent, the Government, and the people were strained to such a degree that open insurrection broke out. It was at this moment that one of those unforeseen events happened which produced a wave of emotion that restored in an almost incredible degree the loyalty of the people to the Throne. On the night of the 4th of November 1817 the Princess gave birth to a male child, but it was still-born, and in a few hours after the Princess herself expired. As we have said, it is difficult to realise the effect of this double event on the people. The public grief was intensified by the conviction that both deaths were attributable to medical indecision in withholding stimulants at a critical moment, which would have been administered under similar conditions to the wife of the humblest person in the country. On the occasion of the funeral there was a general cessation of business, not only in London, but throughout the Empire.

It was the office of Mr Samuel Crawley, as

270 A Bedfordshire Family

High Sheriff, to communicate to Prince Leopold and to the Regent the condolence of the county on this event. In the County Records is preserved a letter, dated the 27th of December 1817, from Claremont addressed to Samuel Crawley, Esq., acknowledging the receipt of the address of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Bedford. The Prince Leopold said that, however deep and overwhelming his sorrows must ever remain, he still felt most sensibly the affection and interest with which all had turned to share and mitigate his griefs, and he received with most attached and consoling confidence this further proof of the general and unbounded feeling in the country's loss and in his own affliction.

The Park at Stockwood was until recently known by the name of "The Lawn." In extent it is 262 acres, and, being completely enclosed, is entitled to the more dignified appellation of Stockwood Park, by which name it is now known. The chief drawback of the Park as a place of residence is that it has a public footpath running from east to west through its entire length, forming a convenient short cut from the

town of Luton to the village of Woodside, where the path joins the main road to Markyate. Previously to the year 1818 this passed to the south of the mansion, and seriously detracted from the privacy of the grounds and gardens which lie on that side of the house. On the 15th of August 1717 an order, made by two local justices of the peace, for diverting and turning this path to its present position, considerably to the north of the mansion, was laid before the Court of Quarter Sessions and was duly confirmed. The following is an extract from the County Records, vol. i. p. 170, dealing with this diversion:—

90. 15th August 1817. Order by two justices for the diverting and turning of a certain part of a public footway within the parishes of Luton and Caddington, and leading from the town of Luton to Caddington Woodside, and to Markyate Street and other places, and passing through two closes of James Waller in the parish of Luton, and from thence into and through certain closes, lands, and grounds of Samuel Crawley, Esquire, in the said parish of Luton, called Newlands Fields, and The Lawn, and passing on the south-east side of the mansion-house of the said Samuel Crawley, called Stockwood, and from

thence into and across a certain close of Joseph Howell, Esquire, called Great Field, in the parish of Caddington, and from thence into and along the north side of a close of the said Joseph Howell, in the same parish, called Woodside Field, and along the west side of another close of the said Joseph Howell, in the same parish, called the Wick, into the lane leading from Caddington Woodside towards Luton, which part of the said footway contains in length about 2002 yards. And it is further ordered that as soon as the new footway shall be completed, and the same certified, that then the said part of the said footway shall be stopped up, and the ground and soil thereof vested in the said Samuel Crawley and Joseph Howell, respectively, as far as their lands respectively extend, in exchange for the said new footway."

On the 5th of October 1818 the Court of Quarter Sessions recorded a certificate by two justices of the peace that they had viewed the said new footway, and found the same, containing in length 1770 yards, and in breadth 4 feet, was completed and put into good repair. The new footway was a great improvement on the old one, but within the recollection of the writer it was often in such bad condition as to justify the public in encroaching on the park on either side. This state of things was remedied by the late Mr

John Sambrook Crawley, who made an excellent asphalt path, fenced and drained on either side.

In 1818, three years after he succeeded to his inheritance of the Crawley estates in Bedfordshire, and when he was twenty-eight years of age, Mr Crawley offered himself for election to Parliament for the lace-making town of Honiton in Devonshire. Honiton was a borough by prescription, and returned two members to the House of Commons from the 28 Edward I. to 1867, when it was disfranchised. It became famous for its manufacture of lace, introduced by the Lollards, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; it was also famous for its butter; but its chief claim to notoriety was in respect of its having been the scene of some of the most expensive elections of members of Parliament, in the worst periods of electoral corruption, in our parliamentary history. It is stated in *Notes and Queries* (II. S. I., Mar. 5, 1910) that Sir George Yonge was first returned for this borough on the 16th of April 1754, and sat in seven successive Parliaments as one of the members for Honiton up to 1799. How many contested elections he fought in that time we do not know, but he was

returned at four or five elections on his appointment as one of the Lords of the Admiralty (1766), Vice-Treasurer of Ireland (1782), Secretary for War (1782 and 1783), and Master of the Mint (1794). He is reported to have said in his old age that he had inherited £80,000 from his father, that his wife brought him a like sum, and the Government paid him £80,000, but that Honiton swallowed the whole £240,000. A Mr Bradshaw, in 1805, gave each voter at Honiton, after his election, six guineas—a sum that was from that time usually paid until 1830. Lord Cochran, however, won Honiton in 1806 at a cost of ten guineas to each of his supporters. Such payments were in addition to the ordinary expenses of parliamentary elections.

It would be interesting to know why Mr Crawley sought the suffrages of so remote a constituency as the borough of Honiton; we think the explanation is that the portreeve or mayor of the borough was William Musgrave, Esq. The Crawleys and the Musgraves had become associated, if not related, by the marriage of the late Mr John Crawley in 1772. On reference to his marriage settlement, it will be

seen that two Musgraves were parties to the deed in the capacity of trustees, and we shall see presently that Samuel Crawley took for his second wife, in 1822, a Miss Maria Musgrave. The election was held in the month of June 1818. We are indebted to Mr Willis Watson of Exeter for the following particulars of the election, derived from local histories and other sources. At the beginning of the month of June the borough was completely open, the two members who represented it in the previous Parliament having intimated that they did not intend to offer themselves for re-election. There were then three parties formed within the constituency, each, it is to be presumed, ready to adopt candidates who might be willing to pay the price at which the free and independent electors were anxious to sell their votes. Such transactions were common at the time, and no disgrace was attached to the open traffic between candidates and voters. Indeed, as late as the time when the Ballot Act of 1870 was under consideration, a professor of moral philosophy argued, in one of the leading London weekly papers, that the buying and selling of

276 A Bedfordshire Family

votes was perfectly reasonable and proper, and ought not to be interfered with.

At the head of one of the three parties in the borough was an agent named Mules, who introduced the name of Mr Samuel Crawley to the constituency; at the head of another was a Mr Townsend, who was canvassing for the Hon. Colonel Charles Cust, a gentleman whose address was at the Guards' Club, London, but who at the time was on the Continent; at the head of the third party stood Messrs Gidley & Son, and a Mr Cox, who had united their interests, and would, it was thought, present a formidable combination if they should succeed in their desire to secure an independent gentleman resident in the county as their candidate—a gentleman who would have the opportunity of establishing a permanent interest in the borough. In this, however, they failed, and had to content themselves with a gentleman, Mr Slade, a proctor, of Doctors' Commons, London, who did not even present himself on the hustings, and was in no way associated with the Borough.

The portreeve (William Musgrave, Esq.) appointed Wednesday, the 17th of June, for the

election. The morning of the election was ushered in with the ringing of bells and other "demonstrations of joy"! Two of the candidates, the Hon. Colonel Cust and Mr Samuel Crawley, paraded the town with their respective friends and supporters; the parties showed every evidence of strength that noise could suggest, whilst the friends of Mr Slade (most of whom were enrolled under the banner of one or other of the before-mentioned candidates) reserved their efforts for the hustings. After the usual proclamation had been made and the Acts of Parliament read (presumably the Acts against bribery and intimidation), and the oath duly taken, Mr Crawley offered his services to the free and independent electors, as a candidate for the honour of representing them in the Commons' House of Parliament. He assured them his claims to their suffrages were a warm attachment to the Constitution in Church and State and a determination constantly to keep in mind the interests of the borough of Honiton.

The Hon. Colonel Cust then addressed the inhabitants, but we are not told on what he based his claims.

278 A Bedfordshire Family

Mr Gidley, in the absence of the third candidate, Mr Slade, proposed that gentleman as a fit representative, and Mr Cox seconded; whereupon Mr Shuttes of London, a friend of Mr Slade's, addressed the electors on behalf of his friend.

The portreeve demanded three several shows of hands, and declared that the majority appeared in favour of the Hon. Colonel Cust and Mr Slade; upon which Mr Crawley promptly demanded a poll. We believe it was usual on these occasions to declare that the candidate who had the greatest show of hands was out of it, in order to make certain that there should be a demand for a poll. The poll was ordered to commence at nine the next morning, and it is to be presumed that Mr Slade presented himself at the poll, but we are told he left the borough before the close of the proceedings, which lasted from the 18th to the 20th of June. The result was—

Cust	.	.	.	.	.	.	320
Crawley	.	.	.	.	.	.	306
Slade	.	.	.	.	.	.	186

We should like to know what Mr Crawley's election expenses amounted to, but we have

no information beyond the statement above mentioned, that the price paid to each voter at that time was six guineas. It should be mentioned that Mr Crawley was returned in the Tory interests.

The death of George III. in 1820 dissolved the Parliament elected in 1818. A fresh election was held in Honiton on the 7th of March 1820, when the Hon. Colonel Cust and Mr Crawley were returned unopposed. A Mr Busk had been in the field canvassing, but retired.

The next general election was in the year 1826. In all previous elections the candidates returned had been Tories, but at a canvass made some twelve months before the election, a Mr Alexander was put forward with Mr Crawley in the Tory interest in the place of Colonel Cust. The canvass was a surprise to everyone concerned. Whether the electors were turning ashamed of their venality, and were resolving to forswear bribery and to vote honestly, or whether the rising party in favour of "reform" bid higher than the Tories, we cannot tell, but Mr Crawley and Mr Alexander, or their agents

280 A Bedfordshire Family

decided they had better withdraw from the contest ; they did not go to the poll, and at the ensuing election a Whig was, for the first time in the history of the borough, returned at the head of the poll. Mr Crawley retired from parliamentary life for six years, and when he again presented himself as a candidate for Parliament it was for a borough in his own county, and in the *Whig* interest.

Notwithstanding the drain on his purse in connection with the elections for Honiton, we find Mr Samuel Crawley adding to the family estates by the purchase of a farm which has at varying periods been known as Innings, Inions, or Onyons Farm, comprising 194 acres of land. This purchase was made in the year 1822.

In addition to the public footpath through the centre of Stockwood Park, there was another footpath just inside the Park, from the lodge in Farley road alongside the hedge between the Park and Farley road. In 1826, after due legal process, Mr Crawley obtained from the Court of Quarter Sessions an order closing that footpath, in consideration of Mr Crawley having provided

a good path by the roadside from the top of Farley Hill to Farley Green.

We have seen that in 1826 Mr Crawley ceased to represent Honiton in the Commons' House of Parliament. He had up to that time sat and voted with the Tory party, but during the six years following his retirement he seems to have allied himself with the Russell factions in the county, and with Mr Whitbread, one of the Whig members for the borough of Bedford. Mr Crawley became thoroughly imbued with the spirit of reform which at the time most profoundly affected the great body of the people from one end of the United Kingdom to the other. The royal assent to the Reform Bill was given on the 7th of June 1832. Festivals and great rejoicings followed throughout the three kingdoms, and Luton was not behind the rest of the people in manifesting its share in the general rejoicing. A little more than a month after the passing of the Bill, on the 24th July 1832, Mr Crawley issued an address to the freeholders, clergy, and other electors of the county of Bedford, intimating that he had been invited to offer himself for election for the

county at the ensuing election. He earnestly conjured the electors, as they valued the peace of the country and the security of property, to return two men who would honestly support the principles of the Reform Bill. He pledged himself to a permanent commutation of tithes, to support the agricultural interest in respect of a new Corn Bill with a fixed duty, and that he would concur in measures for the emancipation of slaves, with a due regard to the rights of owners.

At the time Mr Crawley issued the above address it was supposed that Lord Tavistock would be a candidate, but for some reason or another Lord Tavistock retired, and Mr Crawley issued his address as a candidate in the place of Lord Tavistock. He at the same time issued a separate and special address to his tenants at Luton, Stondon, Keysoe, Thurleigh, and Yildon in Bedfordshire, desiring them to exercise their own judgments, and assuring them that no act on his part of a vindictive nature would be visited upon them by reason of any difference of opinion. The retirement of Lord Tavistock seems to have been arranged by the Russell

family with a view to the putting forward of Lord Charles Russell, brother of Lord John Russell, as the nominee of the Bedford interest. Upon Lord Charles Russell issuing his address, Mr Crawley withdrew his candidature for the county, and was solaced by an invitation to stand for the borough town, in conjunction with Mr Whitbread. Mr Whitbread had already represented the borough in six successive Parliaments. By some omission of election procedure on the part of Mr Polhill, the Tory candidate, or his agents, there was no need for a poll, and Mr Crawley was returned to Parliament as a member of the great Whig party.

The result of the elections of 1832 was the return to the new and reformed House of Commons of three parties—the Whigs, the Conservatives, as the Tories were henceforth to be called, and a third section made up of the more advanced Whigs, who became known as Radicals, and proclaimed themselves in favour of universal suffrage and vote by ballot.

The Parliament of 1832 had but a short life of two years; it was dissolved on the 30th December 1834, and a new Parliament was

284 A Bedfordshire Family

convoked to meet on the 19th February 1835. On the 10th January 1835 the nomination of candidates to represent the borough was held at Bedford. Dr Witt, Mayor of Bedford, conducted the election, and exhorted all parties to keep the peace and to give to each candidate a full, fair, and impartial hearing. The candidates nominated were Mr Whitbread, Mr Crawley, and Mr Polhill. The first-named gentleman attempted to address the electors amidst indescribable confusion; it was impossible to hear what he said, and he sat down amidst universal hissing and uproar. Mr Crawley then attempted to speak, but the tumult was so great that he could not be heard; the Tory candidate, Mr Polhill, met with no better success. Upon a show of hands, the mayor declared it was in favour of Messrs Crawley and Polhill, and a poll was demanded. The result of the poll was—

Polhill	.	.	.	.	.	490
Crawley	.	.	.	.	.	403
Whitbread	.	.	.	.	.	383

The result was a bitter experience for the great Whig interest, as the borough had for generations been looked upon as a pocket

borough of the Dukes of Bedford, and the position of the Whitbread family was thought to be invulnerable. Mr Crawley being returned to the new Parliament, took his seat, after an unavailing petition, and although he does not appear to have obtruded himself on the House as a speaker, he gained a good deal of notoriety in the county by voting in favour of the ballot.

The death of our "Sailor-King," William IV., on the 20th June 1837, put an end to the Parliament elected in 1835, and Mr Crawley was again a candidate for the suffrages of the people of Bedford. In his address he announced that as their member he had supported the emancipation of slaves, the Dissenters' Marriage Bill, and the Church Rate Abolition Bill, and promised to support the Irish Corporation Reform Bill and any measure that would effect the total abolition of Church rates; that he was a decided friend of the Church, but an enemy to Church rates. He also justified his vote in the House in favour of the ballot.

This election was remarkable for the fact that the Tories had put forward two candidates, Messrs Polhill and Stuart, while the Whigs con-

286 A Bedfordshire Family

tented themselves with Mr Crawley as their sole candidate. The result of the poll was a staggering blow to the prestige of the great Whig interest in the borough. Both the Tory candidates were elected. The votes were—

Polhill	.	.	.	.	.	467
Stuart	.	.	.	.	.	419
Crawley	.	.	.	.	.	412

This was by no means a disgraceful defeat, but it effectually quenched Mr Crawley's ardour for political contests. He never again offered himself as a candidate for Parliament.

In 1839, by a deed dated the 30th September, a Mr James Warr, a well-known resident near Chaul End, conveyed to Mr Crawley several closes of land lying between Chalk Farm and Chaul End. This Mr Warr provided for the people of Chaul End the little chapel still standing there. In the same year William Thorogood conveyed to Samuel Crawley two fields called Woodside Fields, and shortly after, Mr Joseph Howell, who owned some scores of acres lying between Stockwood and Woodside, known as the Great Field, Woodside Field, and The Wick, sold the whole to Mr Crawley.

In 1842 Mr Crawley purchased Great Newlands, a tract of land lying between Stockwood and the London road.

Mr Samuel Crawley spent the last years of his life in Italy, and died at Naples in 1852, and was buried there.

Mr John Sambrook Crawley, his eldest son was born at Stockwood on the 29th April 1823 and was twenty-nine years old when he succeeded to his father's estates. He was educated at Eton. There was probably no more capable, practical landowner in Bedfordshire than Mr J. S. Crawley. Practical farming and the improvement of English stock had become the hobby, and often the earnest pursuit, of a large section of the landowners of England. Mr Crawley threw himself heartily into the life and pursuits of a landowner devoted to these objects, and did much to improve the conditions of agriculture in this part of the country. He also made considerable and valuable additions to his estate.

On the 27th October 1853 he purchased of Mrs Jane Waller the farm situate in Old Bedford road, known as "Funnell's Farm." Although this farm is not within the bounds

of the borough of Luton, it is separated only by Stockingstone Lane, which is the boundary between Luton and Stopsley. The Mrs Waller from whom Mr Crawley purchased Funnell's Farm was the widow of Mr Thomas Waller, whose house stood at the corner of Bute Street and George Street, the site now occupied by the Capital and Counties Bank, and the premises of Mr Johnstone Hay, Mr Butcher, Mr Staddon, and others, from George Street down to the river. The Waller family were among the most considerable men of business in Luton. Their name implies that they were at one time "builders," but early in the nineteenth century they were first wool-staplers and then pioneers in that development of the straw-bonnet industry which made Luton the emporium of the straw trade. To them was due the importation of foreign materials for making straw bonnets. In 1840 there were three large warehouses and factories in Luton owned by three members of this family—namely, Thomas Waller, near the George Hotel; Edmund Waller, on the opposite side of George Street; and John Waller, in Castle Street—for the manufacture of straw bonnets.

The modern straw hats were then unknown, but are said to have been first introduced in the following decade by Mr John Jefferson Kershaw.

In 1858 Mr J. S. Crawley purchased from the Hales of King's Walden the "Dallow Farm," a purchase already alluded to in our account of the manor of Dallow.

In the following year, on the 13th June 1859, Mr Crawley purchased of the Bute Trustees the valuable farm known as the "Bury Farm," comprising the Bury House and 539 acres of land situate on either side of the Dunstable road as far as "Maiden Common" farm, and on the north side of the Dallow road as far as Butlins Bridge. This valuable property is now almost covered with streets and houses, but the farmhouse, a Georgian building erected by a late Marquis of Bute, is still standing, and is owned by one of our ex-mayors, Mr Harry Arnold, who has greatly improved the house and grounds. A large portion of the "Bury Farm," the reader may perhaps recollect, formed part of the manor of Dallow. It will be interesting to record here

290 A Bedfordshire Family

that, before the corporation drained that part of the town, there were two large ponds on either side of the Dunstable road which collected the storm-waters from Beech Hill, the overflow passing into a deep ditch along the Bury side of Dunstable road ; the water crossed the road opposite the gas-works and flowed along the boundary of the old moor, into the river Lea, at the corner of Crawley road and the New Bedford road. Before the gas company learned the art of turning their residuals into valuable chemicals, the tar - water, and other abominations, flowed along this ditch into the river. In an old lease of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the ditch in the Dunstable road was dignified with the name of "The Dallow Brook." It will be within the recollection of many inhabitants still living, that Dunstable road was liable to floods, and that the path on the western side of the road from the Great Northern railway bridge to the foot of Beech Hill was raised three feet above the level of the road, to enable pedestrians to pass to and fro in times of heavy rains.

In 1867 Mr Crawley purchased of Mr James Kidman Elm Tree Field and Windmill Field,

lying between the Legrave Marsh road and Maiden Common.

At the time of the construction of the Midland Railway, the railway company acquired twelve acres of land near the first milestone on the Bedford road, containing extensive deposits of river gravel, from whence they drew gravel for their embankment from Luton Station towards Legrave. Many will remember the temporary line laid alongside the Bedford road, and the locomotives drawing ballast trucks to and from those gravel-pits. In 1868, after the completion of the construction of the railway, Mr Crawley purchased these lands from the railway company and added them to the Grange Farm at Biscot. The old gravel-pit has been filled up with refuse from Luton, but of recent years Mr Crawley has opened up, in the same locality, some new gravel-pits worked by Mr G. W. Buckingham, from whence our Luton builders procure much of their local sand and gravel. Both sand and gravel are of inferior quality, owing to the presence of a good deal of chalk ; but our local geologists have obtained from these pits many interesting examples of the deposits of the ancient river drift.

292 A Bedfordshire Family

Mr John Sambrook Crawley married, in 1852, Miss Sarah Bridget Wells, daughter of Frederick Octavius Wells, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr Crawley died suddenly at Stockwood on the 27th September 1895, aged seventy-two years, and was buried in the churchyard of his church at Woodside.

Mr Crawley was a great benefactor of the Church of England. At his own cost, as impropiator of Luton, he restored the chancel of Luton Church ; he contributed to the erection and endowment of the churches of East Hyde, Stopsley, Christ Church, St Matthew's, St Paul's, St Andrew's, and St Saviour's in Luton, besides making a free gift of the sites of the last - mentioned churches. He gave the sites, and at his own cost erected the church and vicarage at Biscot, and provided the greater part of the endowment. He built and did much towards the endowment of the church at Woodside. He contributed liberally to the erection of the church schools at Queen's Square, Christ Church, St Matthew's, and Stopsley. When we consider the rent-roll of his estates, we shall have to admit that, of church work

done by the country gentlemen of Bedfordshire during modern times, few if any could show a better record. Mr Crawley also took a keen interest in the first foundation of a cottage hospital for Luton, and in the subsequent rebuilding and enlargement of that institution. He was its first president, and held that office until his death. Mr Crawley was an active magistrate for both Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, and was for many years chairman of the county bench of the Luton Petty Sessional division. As an *ex-officio* member of the Luton Board of Guardians, he was made chairman of the assessment committee at that important period when the Union Assessment Committee Act of 1862 came into force, and he rendered indefatigable service in the subsequent revaluation of all the rateable property within the Luton Union. He was for many years president of the South Bedfordshire Conservative Association, and of the local Conservative Club. He also served the office of Sheriff of the county, and was a member of the County Council and of the Joint Committee for Bedfordshire. Upon the initiation of the Volunteer movement, Mr

294 A Bedfordshire Family

Crawley took the command of the corps enrolled at Luton.

The present head of the Crawley family is Mr Francis Crawley, born at Stockwood on the 12th October 1853. He is a magistrate for Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, was educated at Eton, and at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He is president of the Luton Hospital, and a generous contributor to its funds. He provided a site for the new church of All Saints on Beech Hill, and the site for another Church on the Dallow estate. For some years he was a member of the County Council. On the 27th October 1897 he married Edith Rosa, daughter of Lieut.-Col. George Arthur Ferguson of Pitfour, in the county of Aberdeen, by Nina Maria, daughter of Alexander, Viscount Bridport, and has issue two daughters.

PART 1 - THE DESCENDANTS OF WILHELM CRAWLEY AND MARGARET CRAWLEY

William Crawley, 2nd of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

William Crawley, 3rd of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1790-1820.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1800.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1810.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1820.

Thomas Crawley, 4th of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1820-1850.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1830.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1840.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1850.

John Crawley of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Agnes Crawley, 1st wife of John Crawley, died 1719. Buried in Nether-Crawley Church.

Elizabeth Crawley, 2nd wife of John Crawley, died 1720. Buried in Nether-Crawley Church.

John Crawley, died unmarried before his father.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

William Crawley of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Agnes Crawley, 1st wife of John Crawley, died 1719. Buried in Nether-Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Agnes Crawley, 1st wife of John Crawley, died 1719. Buried in Nether-Crawley Church.

Sir Francis Crawley, 1st of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

John Crawley, 2nd of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Agnes Crawley, 1st wife of John Crawley, died 1719. Buried in Nether-Crawley Church.

John Crawley, 3rd of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

Francis Crawley, 4th of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

John Crawley, 5th of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

John Crawley, 6th of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

Samuel Crawley of Stock-
 wood, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

John Sanbrook Crawley, 1st of Stock-
 wood, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

Francis Crawley of Nether-
 Crawley, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

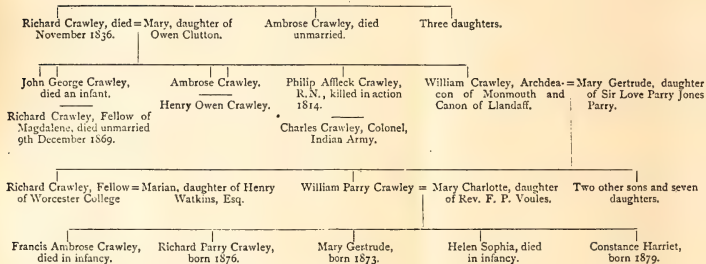
Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

John Sanbrook Crawley, 1st of Stock-
 wood, married in 1711. Will 1719. Died 1720. Buried in Nether-
 Crawley Church.

Thomas Crawley, 1st of Duns, M.D., M.P., 1766-1800.
 1st wife, Mary, d. 1780.
 2nd wife, Elizabeth, d. 1790.
 3rd wife, Mary, d. 1800.

Pedigree PART II.—DESCENDANTS OF SAMUEL CRAWLEY, CONSUL AT SMYRNA.

Samuel Crawley, second son = Maria, daughter of
of Richard Crawley and James Dunant. She
Sarah, daughter of Sir married, secondly,
Samuel Dashwood, Knight, Baron de Hoche-
died 11th January 1762. pied.



CHAPTER XII

Pedigrees of the Crawley Family

THESE pedigrees are formed on the foregoing pages and the pedigrees to be seen in *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries* prepared by the Rev. H. H. Crawley, the Stockwood pedigree, and the pedigree of the Crawley-Boevey family in Mr A. W. Crawley-Boevey's book, entitled *The Perverse Widow*.

THE CRAWLEYS DESCENDED FROM MR S. CRAWLEY, CONSUL AT SMYRNA

We copy from the Crawley pedigree prepared by the Rev. H. H. Crawley, and published in *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 326, and from a note on p. 308 of Mr Crawley-Boevey's book, *The Perverse Widow*, the following particulars of the family of Mr Samuel Crawley, second son of Mr Richard Crawley of Stockwood, by his wife, Elizabeth Dashwood.

296 A Bedfordshire Family

Samuel Crawley, consul at Smyrna, married Maria, daughter of James Dunant by Anna Aulcan, his wife, of Constantinople. Samuel Crawley died at Smyrna on the 11th January 1762, leaving two sons and three daughters surviving. His widow married, as her second husband, 1st March 1763, Daniel John, Baron de Hochepped, who succeeded his father, Daniel Alexander, second Baron de Hochepped, as consul-general of the Netherlands at Smyrna. The following were Samuel Crawley's issue:—

1. Richard, of whom presently.
2. Ambrose Crawley of Gloucester Place, London, merchant. Died unmarried in December 1810.
1. Susanna, born 23rd August 1751. Married . . . Chateauneuf, and died in October 1778.
2. Henrietta Ann, born 30th August 1752. Married to William Affleck, Esq., Captain in the Royal Navy. (A tablet to his memory is in the porch of St Mary's, Bryanston Square, London.)
3. Sarah, born 23rd September 1753. Married to John Schults of Amsterdam.

Richard Crawley, eldest son of Samuel Crawley and Maria, his wife, was born 19th December 1756. Married, 12th July 1786, Mary, dau. of Owen Clutton, Esq., of Greenwich. He was educated at University College, Oxford, and died November 1836. From 1783 to 1836, fifty-three years, he was Rector of Rotherfield and of St Mildred in the Poultry. He had three sons and seven daughters, namely:—

- (1) John George Crawley, born 1787; died in infancy, 1789.
- (2) Richard Crawley, born 31st May 1791, was Fellow and Tutor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, from 1813 to 1829, Prebendary of Salisbury; died unmarried, 9th December 1869.
- (3) Ambrose Crawley, born 1795; married, 1817, Maria Buchanan. She died about 1820. He married, secondly, Helen Jane Maxtone in 1832; and, thirdly, Corinna Boyce. By his first wife he had one son, John Richard Crawley, born 1818; married Alvine, dau. of Albert Wieckler of Saxony, in 1847.

298 A Bedfordshire Family

By his second wife, Ambrose Crawley had one daughter, Helen Mary Sophia, married in 1854 to David Sturrock, and died in the same year. Ambrose Crawley entered the E.I.C.'s service, and died in 1849.

- (4) Henry Owen Crawley, born 1796; entered the Royal Engineers, 1816; married Judith, dau. of Goble, and had two sons and one daughter.

1. Henry Owen Crawley, Clerk in Holy Orders; married, first, Dorothy, dau. of James Burrows of Leicestershire; she died 1865; secondly, Frances, dau. of Fredk. Gore; died in 1881. By his first wife he had two sons and two daughters:—

(1) Henry James Crawley, born 1855; married 1886 to; now in New Zealand.

(2) Charles Clutton Crawley, born 1861; now in the United States.

(1) Mary Elizabeth, born 1857; married to Rev. T. Chapman, 1885.

(2) Alice, born 1863.

By his second wife he had two daughters :—

(1) Frances, born 1868.

(2) Mildred, born 1876.

2. Charles Crawley, second son of Henry Owen Crawley, sen., born 1827; married, 1864, Anne, dau. of Capt. William Parsons, R.N., of Parkstone, Dorset; died s.p., 1865.

1. Sarah, dau. of Henry Owen Crawley, sen., married to Col. Lewis Jones, and died in 1869, leaving one daughter, Mary Frances, born 1862.

(5) Philip Affleck Crawley, R.N., born 1791, of H.M.S. *Hebrus*; killed in action with *L'Etoile*, a French frigate, March 1814.

(6) Charles Crawley, born 1801. Colonel in Indian Army; died s.p., 1851.

(7) William Crawley, born 1802; educated at Shrewsbury and Trinity College, Cambridge; Wrangler; late Fellow of Magdalene Coll., Camb.; Rector of Bryngwyn, 1834; Archdeacon of Monmouth, 1843 to 1845; Canon of Llandaff, 1858 to 1885; married in 1836 Mary Gertrude,

300 A Bedfordshire Family

third dau. of Sir Love Parry Jones Parry of Madryn, in county of Carnarvon ; she died 1854, having had four sons and seven daughters:—

1. Richard Crawley, born 1840; educated at Marlborough and University College, Oxford.

CHAPTER XIII

An Account of the Crawley-Boevey Family, taken from the Narrative Pedigree, Appendix XIII. Part IV. to Mr Crawley-Boevey's *Memorials of the Boevey Family*, and from other Sources.

I. A HISTORY of the Crawley family would be incomplete without some account of the Crawley-Boevey family descended from Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane, Luton, fourth son of John Crawley of Nether Crawley. This Thomas Crawley was a prosperous maltster, and owned a farm at the upper end of Dunstable Lane, now known as Upper George Street, on the road to Dunstable, between the years 1544 and 1581. He also owned a house and farm called "Townsend," Luton. By the will of his father, who died before 1544, he and his brother William had the farmhouse

and lands at Dane Street, and with his brother John he had the tithes at New Mill End. It does not appear from his own will that he had retained the properties bequeathed to him by his father, from which fact it is probable that he ceded to his brothers John and William his share in his father's estate, and settled himself in the town of Luton, where he purchased the farms of "Dunstable Lane" and "Townsend" after the death of his father in 1544. It is evident from the wording of his own will, dated 15th January 1581, proved on the 3rd February following (P.C.C. Terwhite 6), that he had married a widow named Parett, who had two sons by her first husband. The Perotts or Paretts were substantial yeomen at Luton and Biscot in the reign of Henry VIII. Thomas Crawley had several children by Elizabeth Parett, namely, Thomas, his eldest son, Richard, Abraham, Mary, Elizabeth, and Judith. His farm at Dunstable Lane he left to his son Thomas, while the house and lands at Townsend were devised to his son Richard, with the direction that his widow, during her life, should occupy two upper rooms in the house, with the proviso that the rooms she

might choose should have chimneys. The witnesses to this will were William Horne, Vicar of Luton, 1575-1594 (he was also Vicar of Hemel Hempstead and Prebendary of Lichfield, and lies buried in the chancel of Luton Church); Thomas Crawley and Richard Crawley, sons; Thomas Winche and Robert Longes. His executors were his brother-in-law, Thomas Parett of Shillington, and his son Richard, with his son Thomas as overseer. We think the witness Robert Longes was probably Robert Long of Stondon, an ancestor of the family of that name who are landowners at Stondon at the present time (1910). Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane was named in the will of his uncle, Edward Crawley, dated 21st May 1545. He was buried in Luton Church.

Thomas Crawley's second son, Richard Crawley, married, 15th October 1584, at the church of St Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London, Elizabeth Preston of St Michael's, St Albans, Co. Herts, daughter of William Preston of Lyncense. He was described as Richard Crawley of Luton, Co. Bedford, yeoman. His will, dated 26th June 1618, proved 11th November 1618, is quoted in

304 A Bedfordshire Family

Bedfordshire Notes and Queries, vol. iii. p. 29. He directed that he should be buried in Luton Church, "near to where my father lieth," and left 6s. 8d. to Mr Birde, Vicar of Luton, "to preach at my burial." He left his house at Luton and ten acres of land, called Hagdell Close, to his wife for life, and after her decease to his son William; also lands to his sons Richard and Abraham; and appointed his wife sole executrix, and his brother-in-law, William Preston of Childwick, near St Albans, gentleman, to be supervisor of his will. As Richard Crawley in the above will was described as of "Dunstable Lane," it is evident that his elder brother, Thomas (of whom presently), must have transferred that property to his brother Richard. Richard Crawley's eldest son, William, seems to have occupied a property at Sunnings Lane End, Luton, which must have been the house above described as "Townsend," because in leaving the place to his son Thomas he describes it as his "dwelling-house in the South end of Luton," which agrees with the devise of "Townsend" in the will of the above-named Thomas Crawley.

Thomas Crawley of Sunnings Lane, eldest son of the above-named William Crawley, left a will, dated 9th November 1633, from which we gather that he left a widow and ten young children. He left his house, gardens, orchards, etc., two closes of land, two places in Luton, one at "Whyaxe" and the other at "Nokes Hill," to his son William, when he should be twenty-one, but subject to a payment of £60 to his mother, and necessary dwelling in his said house during her life. To his son Thomas he left a messuage in the occupation of John Butterfield, probably the farmhouse in Dunstable Lane, and lands at "Pondwix" and "Blakehill," Luton; and to his six daughters he left lands in the common fields, and a close called "Broadwater." The residue he left to his wife, with which to bring up his children "in the service and fear of God" (proved at Canterbury, Reg. Seager 1). We learn nothing further of this family, except that the lands above mentioned, in the next century, were in the possession of the descendants of Sir Francis Crawley. We therefore return to the eldest son of the above-named Thomas Crawley.

306 A Bedfordshire Family

II. Thomas Crawley, eldest son of Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane (Section I.), appears to have quitted the home at Dunstable Lane and moved into Hertfordshire. In his will he is described as of Preston, in the parish of King's Walden. His will was dated 16th June, and was proved on the 30th of November 1648, by his executor, Thomas, his son.

III. Thomas Crawley of King's Walden, gentleman, son of the last-named Thomas, lived and died at King's Walden. His will, dated 23rd September, was proved in November 1647, before the death of his father. He married at King's Walden, 28th June 1593, Sarah Basshope, by whom he had:—

1. Thomas Crawley of King's Walden, baptized 9th February 1597; buried 12th December 1667. Will dated 21st October, proved 17th December 1667.
2. Edward Crawley, second son, baptized at King's Walden, 27th August 1600; buried there 30th September 1667, leaving a widow, a son, and two daughters.
3. Robert Crawley, of whom next section.

The Crawley-Boevey Family 307

4. Mary Crawley of King's Walden, spinster.
Will dated 21st April 1668, proved
March 1669.
5. Sarah Crawley ; married John Hirst, gentleman, 1647. She was living, a widow, in 1668.
6. Richard Crawley ; married , by whom he had an only son, John, and a daughter.

IV. Robert, son of Thomas Crawley (Section III.), was of London, merchant, citizen, and grocer. He was named in the wills of his father, his brother Thomas, and his sister Mary. He married, at Enfield, Middlesex, Elizabeth, daughter of John Shipton, St Matthew's, Friday Street, 21st December 1629. She was buried at Enfield, 15th July 1682. He died 12th February 1691-2. They had eleven children :—

1. Elizabeth, baptized at Enfield, 15th September 1631.
2. Sarah, baptized at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 3rd October 1633 ; married
Hilton.
3. Mary, baptized at St Matthew's, Friday

308 A Bedfordshire Family

Street, 4th December 1634; buried there,
16th March 1638-9.

4. Hannah, baptized at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 17th February 1635-6.
5. Thomas Crawley, eldest son and heir, of whom next section.
6. John Crawley, baptized at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 6th May 1640.
7. Mary (the second), baptized at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 13th May 1642.
8. Elizabeth (the second), baptized at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 6th March 1647.
9. Edward Crawley, baptized at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 8th March 1650.
10. Robert Crawley, buried at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 21st March 1651-2.
11. William Crawley.

V. Thomas, eldest son of Robert Crawley (Section IV.), baptized at St Matthew's, Friday Street, 11th September 1638, was of London, merchant. There must have been some lovable

The Crawley-Boevey Family 309

qualities in this man. He was a friend of Izaak Walton and a witness to his will; he was also a friend of William Boevey of Flaxley Abbey, in the county of Gloucester, and the executor of the will of his father-in-law, David Bonnell of Isleworth, in 1690 (146 Dyke). He was married by licence (Vicar-General) dated 21st May 1677, at St Dunstan's in the East, to Mary, daughter of David Bonnell of Isleworth, Esq. His will, dated 1st June 1711, was proved by his widow, Mary, in the P.C.C., 26th April 1714. Her will, dated 2nd April 1718, was proved, P.C.C., 25th October 1721 (177 Buckingham). They had issue:—

1. David Crawley, baptized 4th March 1677-8, at St Dunstan's in the East. Named in the will of the above-named William Boevey, proved 22nd October 1692.
2. Thomas Crawley, of whom next section.
3. John Crawley, baptized 21st February 1682-3, at St Dunstan's in the East. Executor and residuary legatee of Mrs Cornelia Bateman, born Boevey (1702). Living 1718; died unmarried.
4. Cornelia, married Petley Ley, Esq., of

310 A Bedfordshire Family

Deptford, Kent. Named, with daughter Anne Ley, in her mother's will, dated 1718, proved 1721.

5. William Crawley, baptized 2nd December 1684, at St Dunstan's in the East; buried there 20th May 1685.

See above

VI. Thomas, eldest surviving son of Thomas Crawley (Section V.), was baptized 3rd May 1680, at St Dunstan's in the East. He married by licence (Vicar-General), on the 2nd February 1702, at Great St Bartholomew's, London, Susanna, daughter of John Lloyd and Susanna Hollier.

We have mentioned that his father, Thomas Crawley (Section V.), was the friend of William Boevey, Esq., of Flaxley Abbey, and that two of his children, namely, David and John, were beneficiaries of William Boevey and his sister, Mrs Cornelia Bateman. This Thomas Crawley (Section VI.) lived to be a recipient of still greater favours from the family. The Boevey family came from Courtral in Flanders in 1573, and settled in St Dunstan's in the East. They acquired considerable wealth, and the above-

named William Boevey purchased the estate of Flaxley Abbey, in the county of Gloucester, and married Catherine, daughter of John Riches. Catherine Boevey was a famous beauty, but was still more famous for her great benevolence and numerous benefactions. She also became interesting to later generations as the subject of Sir Richard Steele's essays, wherein he alludes to the relations between the more or less fictitious character, Sir Roger de Coverley, and the "Perverse Widow" (see Mr Crawley-Boevey's *The Perverse Widow* for an account of this lady), the widow being, it is said, Catherine Boevey, the widow of William Boevey. Mr Boevey died at the early age of thirty-five, leaving his estate and much wealth to his beautiful widow, who survived him till the 21st January 1726. Thomas Crawley was William Boevey's executor, and by the terms of Mr Boevey's will he succeeded to the estate of Flaxley Abbey upon the condition that he took the name of Boevey. By the will of Mrs Boevey he also received a pecuniary legacy of £500, her coach-horses, etc., and books which she gave to "my kind friend Thomas Crawley-Boevey."

312 A Bedfordshire Family

Thomas Crawley-Boevey was buried at Flaxley on 7th February 1741. His will was proved in the P.C.C. in February 1742 (46 Trenley). His wife predeceased him on the 17th July 1739. They had issue:—

1. William Boevey Crawley, born 27th October 1702; died 12th November.
2. Catharina, born 12th October 1704; died unmarried.
3. Susanna, born 7th September 1705; buried 10th November 1752, in the church vault of St James', Duke Place, Aldgate. Married, 14th May 1745, Rev. John Lloyd, Rector of St James', Duke Place, Aldgate, her first cousin. She had no issue.
4. Mary, born 23rd September 1706.
5. Thomas Crawley *alias* Boevey, of whom next section.
6. John Crawley, born 7th November 1710; attorney-at-law; died unmarried.
7. William Crawley, born 12th October 1711; died 28th November 1780, at Gravesend, and was buried at Flaxley, of which parish he was Perpetual Curate from 1741 to 1780.

The Crawley-Boevey Family 313

8. Robert Crawley, born 20th September 1712; died unmarried in the East Indies.
9. Cornelia, born 14th January 1714; married James Heywood, Esq., of London, merchant.
10. Lucy, twin with James, born 12th May 1716; married 23rd February 1745, at Flaxley, Robert Longden, Esq., of Doctors' Commons, and left issue.
11. James, twin with Lucy, born 12th May 1716.
12. Aurelia, buried at Flaxley, 2nd July 1741.
13. Joanna, buried at Flaxley, 22nd February 1730-1.

VII. Thomas Crawley *alias* Boevey, son of Thomas Crawley *alias* Boevey (Section VI.), was of Flaxley Abbey, Co. Gloucester. He was born 11th September 1709; died 28th November 1769, and buried at Flaxley. His will was proved in the P.C.C., 12th December 1769 (405 Bogg). He married, 17th May 1743, his first cousin, Susanna, daughter of John Lloyd

314 A Bedfordshire Family

the younger and Susanna White. She was buried at Flaxley the 5th March 1762. They had issue:—

1. Thomas Crawley-Boevey, of whom next section.
2. Susanna, born 14th February 1748; married, first, at the parish church of St Mary's, Twickenham, 23rd January 1766, to Edmund Bastard, Esq., of West Alvington, Devon. He died in 1773, and she married, secondly, 19th March 1777, at Flaxley, Capt. Thomas Hyde Page, R.E., a distinguished soldier, afterwards knighted. They left no issue.
3. Catherine, born 25th April 1753; married, 12th March 1777, at Flaxley, the Rev. Duke Yonge. They had issue five sons and four daughters.
4. Charles Crawley, Rector of Stowe Nine Churches, Northamptonshire, and Vicar of Broadway, Worcestershire, LL.D., born 25th April 1756; died at Stowe, 4th January 1849. Married, at Exeter Cathedral, 12th April 1784, Mary, daughter of George Abraham Gibbs, and had issue

The Crawley-Boevey Family 315

two sons and seven daughters. Died
31st October 1819.

Sir

VIII., Thomas Crawley-Boevey, eldest son of Thomas Crawley *alias* Boevey (Section VII.) was baptized at Flaxley 13th March 1743; died there 11th August 1818. He married, 20th February 1769, Anne, daughter and co-heiress of the Rev. Thomas Savage, Rector of Standish, Co. Gloucester. Presented with the freedom of the city of Gloucester, 21st September 1792. He succeeded Sir Charles Barrow as second baronet in 1789, by special limitations of the patent. They had issue thirteen children, viz. :—

1. Thomas Crawley-Boevey, of whom next section.
2. Anne, baptized 13th December 1770; died 7th January 1792.
3. Susanna, baptized 6th February 1772; died 16th September 1851.
4. Katherine, born 8th August 1773; married, 2nd December 1822, Admiral Ballard.
5. John Lloyd Crawley, Rector of Heyford, born 21st February 1775; died 18th

316 A Bedfordshire Family

October 1850 at Swalcliffe Park.
Married, 21st April 1806, his first
cousin, Anne, daughter of Rev. Charles
Crawley, and had issue eight sons and
two daughters.

6. Eleanora, born 25th November 1776;
died 16th September 1802. Married,
1801, Rev. Richard Ironmonger of
Wherwell, Herts, leaving one son.
7. Charles Crawley, Perpetual Curate of
Flaxley from 1810 to 1838, Vicar of
Hartpury, 1838 to 1856, and Hon.
Canon of Gloucester Cathedral; born
28th November 1780; died 17th Janu-
ary 1856. Married, 30th August 1811,
at Cornwood Church, his first cousin,
Catherine, daughter of Rev. Duke
Yonge of Cornwood, and had issue
two sons and five daughters.
8. George Crawley, Captain R.N., of the
Philomel brig; born 23rd December
1782; died 5th March 1810. Married
his first cousin, Charlotte, daughter of
Rev. Duke Yonge, and had issue one
daughter.

The Crawley-Boevey Family 317

9. Mary, born 22nd September 1783; died unmarried, 1835.
10. Elizabeth, born 5th December 1784; died 9th March 1870.
11. Margaret, born 23rd April 1786; died 22nd April 1867. Married, 12th January 1820, her first cousin, James Yonge, M.D. Issue four children, who died young.
12. Joanna Lucinda, born 10th December 1788; died 22nd December 1788.
13. William Crawley, Perpetual Curate of Flaxley, 1838 to 1856; born 24th December 1790; died 17th December 1856. Married, 8th October 1822, his first cousin, Charlotte, youngest daughter of Rev. Charles Crawley, Rector of Stowe, and had issue one son and four daughters.

IX. Sir Thomas Crawley-Boevey, eldest son and heir of the first Sir Thomas Crawley-Boevey (Section VIII.), was born 28th November 1769, at Flaxley, and succeeded his father as second baronet in 1818. Died 10th January 1847. Married Mary Albinia, daughter of Sir

318 A Bedfordshire Family

Thomas Hyde Page, and had issue four sons and three daughters (see Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*).

The arms borne by the above branch of the Crawley family were the same as those granted in 1632 to Sir Francis Crawley. It is clear they had no authority to bear such arms, as the grant was made to Sir Francis Crawley and the other sons of Thomas Crawley of Nether Crawley, the father of Sir Francis. The Crawley-Boevey branch descended, as we have seen, from Thomas Crawley of Dunstable Lane, Luton, a junior collateral branch of the Crawleys of Nether Crawley.

In the year 1634 Thomas Crawley of Preston (Section II. above) claimed to bear the arms of Sir Francis Crawley, but, not being able to show descent from Thomas, the father of Sir Francis, his claim was disallowed. Nevertheless, his descendants till 1789 continued to bear the arms of the Crawleys of Bedfordshire. In 1789 Sir Thomas Crawley-Boevey, Bart. (Section VIII.), applied for and obtained a grant of arms as follows:—Erminois, on a fesse azure, between three cranes proper, a saltier be-

The Crawley-Boevey Family 319

tween two cross-crosslets fitchee or; on a chief ermine, a bend gules, charged with three guttees d'or between two martlets sable.

The chief had reference to the arms of the Boevey family, whose lands Sir Thomas inherited.

The crest is: On a mount vert a crane proper, collared, beaked, and holding in the dexter claw a saltier or.

It seems to have been the practice of this branch of the family that only the eldest son, or rather the son who succeeded to the Flaxley property, took the name of "Boevey." The other members continued to style themselves "Crawley" only.

Flaxley incumbents per Crawley

312 *Altham Crawley 1741-80*

316 *Charles Crawley 1810-38*

317 *William " 1838-56 two bro. of last*

INDEX

- Abbots of St Albans, 12, 13, 122.
 Abbot's Pool, 12, 40.
 Albemarle, Earl of, 13, 219.
 Almund, Abbot, 228.
 Anne, St, Chapel, 116.
 Answer of Sir Francis Crawley,
 174-176.
 Arnold, H., 289.
 Ashton's Charity, 93.
 Assizes of bread and ale, 38, 39.
 Athelstan, 231.
 Atte-Welle, Alice (Mrs Crawley),
 43-46.
 Austin, Rev. Samuel, 196.
 Charles, 255.
Almund 207 240
 Baldwin de Bethune, 11, 12, 13,
 15, 219.
 Baracles Bush, 97.
 Barton-le-Cley, Rev. Thomas
 Crawley, D.D., Rector of,
 194.
 Beckett, Alice, 222.
 Bedford Borough election, 283-
 286.
 Bennet-Lawes of Rothamstead
 Park, 235.
 Bennett's Manor, 159.
 Berkeley, Sir George, 91.
 Berry Hill, Farley, 247.
 Bigland, Gillingham, and Long
 Foundation, 206, 207.
 Birde, Rev. John, Vicar of
 Luton, 196.
 Biscot, 216, 245.
 Biscot Manor, 6, 91, 216,
 227-235, 245.
 Bishopsote, 230.
 Blackwater Field, 95, 144.
 Blairst, Colonel, and his troop
 quartered at Someries Castle,
 183.
 Blodwit, 37.
 Boleyn family, 53.
 Bordars, 6.
 Boswell, Sir William, letter to,
 189.
 Bradways, 90.
 Bribery at Honiton, 273.
 Bridgefield, Burgefield, 97.
 Brockett, Rev. E., Vicar of
 Luton, 136, 138.
 Bromyscroft, 106.
 Brown, Reuben, 186-188, 205,
 206.
 Bull-baiting, 17.
 Bunyan, John, 124.
 Burial in Luton Church, appur-
 tenant to the tenure of certain
 estates, 166.

- Burr, Robert, 130.
 Bury farm, 289.
 Bury Mill Pond, 26, 39, 40.
 Bute, Marquis of, entertains the
 freeholders of Luton, 262.
 Buxtonwood Hill, 97.
 Camden's *Britannia*, 10.
 Carey, Mr, intruded minister at
 Luton, 198.
 Cart's Charity, 93.
 Catesby, Thomas, 72, 105, 106.
 Causeway near Luton Church,
 41, 144, 145.
 Cavaliers, character of, 191, 192.
 Chamberlain, William, 109, 110,
 120.
 Chancery Pleas, 41-45, 135-
 138.
 Chapel of St Anne, 115-117.
 Charles I., 168, 172, 179, 189.
 Charlotte, Princess, death of,
 268.
 Chauncey's *Hist. Herts*, 3.
 Cheneys of Luton and Chelsea,
 207.
 Chiltern Green, 55, 58-60, 144.
 Church plate sold at Luton, 68-
 71.
 Clutterbuck, Mary, 189-208.
 Cobbe's *Hist. Luton Church*,
 107, 109, 111, 127, 197-215.
 Common fine, 24, 35.
 Composition by Sir Francis
 Crawley for his estates, 184.
 Contribution by Sir Francis
 Crawley to King Charles's
 expenses to Scotland, 180.
 Corn, price of, Sir Francis
 Crawley consulted by the
 King, 168.
 Court House, Luton, 143-145.
 Court Rolls of Dallow Manor,
 23-29.
 Cowridge End, 13, 16, 91-94,
 236, 246-252.
 Crawley (Craulea), 9, 10, 11, 13,
 15, 16, 17, 24-28.
 derivation of, 10.
 Green, 15, 16, 17, 146, 147.
 Nether, 10, 17, 18, 57, 63, 66,
 75, 95, 102, 135.
 Crawley, Alice, 43-46.
 Alice, plea in Chancery, 135-
 139.
 Edward, his will, 67.
 Francis, son of Sir Francis,
 188, 189, 191, 194, 208.
 Francis (1910), 294.
 Sir Francis, Kt., 21, 101, 123,
 140, 140-148, 150, 156,
 157, 167, 168, 171, 172-
 192, 193, 217.
 Sir Francis, death of, 190.
 Rev. H. H., 9.
 John, 20, 61-66, 132, 135,
 166, 188, 191, 208, 226,
 250.
 John Sambrook, 124, 273,
 287.
 Lady, 142, 157, 163, 166,
 167, 200.
 Lady, scene at her burial, 200.
 Papers, 21.
 pedigree, 19, 43, 295-319.
 Richard, 75, 100, 166, 209,
 211, 213, 223-225.
 Robert, M.D., 194, 205.
 Samuel (Ragnall Hall), 259.
 Samuel (Stockwood), 266.
 S., Consul at Smyrna, 225,
 247, 295-300.
 Sarah, her death and will,
 251.

- Crawley, Thomas, 20, 53-57, 133, 157, 166, 167, 209.
 Rev. Thomas, D.D., 198-200, 202.
 Thomas (Dunstable Lane), ancestor of Crawley-Boevey family, 92, 95-99, 215.
 William, 43-45, 75, 77, 100.
 Crawleys of Crawley, 8.
 Crawley-Boevey family, 20, 99, 189, 239, 301-319.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 166, 199.
 Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, 195.
 Dallow Brook, 290.
 Dallow Manor, 6, 16, 23-29, 107-126, 231, 289.
 Dane Street, 52, 55, 58, 63.
 Darleybrake Field, 106.
 Dashwood, Sir Samuel, 212.
 Dashwood, Sarah, 212.
 Davis (*History of Luton*), 101, 134, 142, 161, 163, 164, 166, 216, 232.
 Day, William, 147.
 Deolan (Dallow), 30.
 Dissolution of religious houses, 220, 221, 222.
 Diversion of highway, Stockwood, 241.
 Docwra, Thos., 105, 207.
 Domesday Survey, 6, 108, 164.
 Domestic architecture, 160.
 Double hedges, 97.
 Dovehouses, 60.
 Dyner, Theodosia Mary, 266.
 EATON Green, 81, 144, 146.
 Edgerley, Dorothy, 133.
 Edward I., 9.
 Edwardian Inventory, 68-71.
 Elections, 256, 273-286.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 163.
 Eveley Field, 106.
 Exchanges of lands, 254, 257, 258, 262.
 Fair at Luton, 12, 13.
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 183, 185.
 Faulkner's Hall, 80, 84, 85, 188, 213.
 Family names, origin of, 89.
 Farley, 215, 223, 236, 241.
 "Fayre houses" in Luton pulled down, 149-155.
 Fennel's Grove, manor of, 159.
 Ferguson, Edith R. (Mrs Francis Crawley), 294.
 Feudal Mansions, 4, 5.
 Fishing in the Abbot's pool, 39.
 Frankpledge, 32-35.
 Funnell's farm, 287.
 Gillingham, Roger, 206, 207.
 Gloucester, Earl Robert of, 119, 121.
 Gloucester, Earl William, 121.
 Gotch, James Alfred, F.S.A., 116.
 Gough (the antiquarian), 161.
 Greathampstead and Aytons, manor of, 77, 245.
 Greathampstead Someries, manor of, 78, 158, 159.
 Grose's *Antiquities*, 117.
 Guild of the Holy Trinity, 50, 52, 62, 128.
 Gwynneth, Rev. John, Vicar of Luton, 67.
 Hagdell, 97.
 Hale, family of, 124-126.
 Halsey, Thomas, 248.

- Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas Frederick, 249.
 Hampden's case, ship-money, 171.
 Hampson, Leonard, lawyer and banker, 256.
 Hampson, William, lawyer and banker, 255.
 Haverings Holy, 51, 63-65.
 Haverings manor, 101-104, 144, 213.
 Hawley, Elizabeth (Mrs Crawley), 253.
 Hillersden, Rev. Guy, 224.
 Honiton, Mr S. Crawley member for, 273-280.
 Hoo family, 105.
 Hoo and Hastings, Lord, 53.
 Hoo, Sir Thomas, 53.
 House of Commons, 172.
 Howfield, 106.
 Hubbard, Edward, 131.
 Hundredary, 30.
 Hundreds, 30.
 Hurstmonceaux Castle, 161.
 Husborne Crawley, 18.
 Hyde, East and West, 159.
 Hyde, Lord Chancellor, 178.

 Impeachment of Sir Francis Crawley, ship-money, 173.
 Inclosure Act of 1808, Luton Lammas Lands, 264.
 Inions Farm, 280.
 Inventory of Someries Castle (1606), 161, 162.
 Iron chests found at Biscot, 234.

 Jessop, Rev. Thomas, intruded minister, 199.
 Judges advise on the legality of ship-money, 170, 171.

 Kershaw, John J. (straw hats), 289.

 Lammer, Rev. John, Vicar of Luton, 53, 61, 127, 129, 130.
 Lammers, 49, 61, 127, 129, 130, 139.
 Landed estates, 1, 2, 3.
 Lane farm, Stopsley, 88.
 Langley manor, 96, 146, 159.
 Leland, antiquary to Henry VIII., 159.
 Letter to Sir William Boswell on the death of King Charles, 189.
 Limbury-cum-Biscot, 91, 227.
 Lords, House of, 180.
 Luton Hoo, 156.
 Luton, manor of, 5, 6.
 Lyssons, 157.

 Macaulay, 74.
 Manor of Luton, 5, 6.
 Market of Luton, 13, 14.
 Marlborough, John Crawley returned member for, 243.
 Mauger, first master of Farley Hospital, 219.
 Merchant, Mr, 146.
 Mills at Luton, 12, 39.
 Milton, John, on the Cavaliers, 191.
 Moat House, at Biscot, 233.
 Morcar the priest, Vicar of Luton, 108-118.
 Musgrave, Maria (Mrs Crawley), 267.

 Names of families, origin of, 8, 9.
 Napier, Sir John, 117, 195, 207.
 Napier, Sir Robert, 148, 227.

- Neolithic Implement, 125.
 Nether Crawley, 17, 51, 63, 75, 102.
 Northaw, Herts, residence of Richard Crawley, 213.
 North Bridge at Luton, 14.
 Northwood, manor of, 159.
 Nunnery at Biscot, mistake as to, 232.
- Offa's grant of Biscot, 228.
 Offley, Dr, 209, 210.
 O'Neill, Rev. James, 166.
 Onyons or Inions farm, 280.
 Origin of landed estates, 1, 2, 3.
 Oxford, Sir Francis Crawley summoned to meet King Charles at, 181.
 Oxford, surrender of, 183.
 Oxford terms of surrender, 191.
- "Pax" and "pix," 68-71.
 Pedigrees, 19, 43, 295-319.
 Petition of Sir Francis Crawley to compound, 184.
 Petition of the Rev. Thos. Jessop to Oliver Cromwell, 199.
 Pigott family, 58.
 Plate of Luton Church sold by churchwardens, 68-71.
 Plea in Chancery of William Crawley, 43-45.
 Plenties, manor of, 51, 63, 75, 77, 86-89, 100, 224.
 Poaching, 39.
 Ponds and their construction, 81-84.
 Pondwicks Meadows, 139.
 Portraits of the Crawleys, 252.
 Pulling down houses in Luton, 149-155.
- Puritans, work of, upon Luton Church, 202-204.
 Pykes Manor, 95, 96.
- Ramridge End, 105, 129, 131, 139-182.
 Ramridge Hill Field, 106.
 Ramridge, Thomas, 91, 130.
 Rankin, Eliza (Mrs Crawley), 259.
 Regrating, 38.
 Religious houses, dissolution of, 220, 221, 222.
 Removal of Crawley tombstones from Someries Chapel, 166.
 Richard I., 11.
 Robbery of Farley Hospital relics, 219, 220.
 Robert, Earl of Gloucester, 119, 121.
 Rosebery, Lord, 22.
 Rotherham, Elizabeth, charity, 224.
 George, of Farley, 215, 222.
 Sir John, 48, 53, 140-144, 157.
 Rev. Thos. Attwood (intruded minister), 198.
 Thomas (Archbishop and Lord Chancellor), 9, 47, 48, 159, 161.
- Royal Oak (order of knight-hood), 195.
- St Albans Monastery, 11.
 St Anne's Field, 115.
 Sambrook, Sir Samuel Vanacker, 214, 238.
 Susannah (Mrs Crawley), 238.
 Santingfield, hospital of, 217.
 Serfs or slaves in the Church manor and Biscot manor, 6.

Sewell Field, 97.
 Sheffield, Dr (Vicar of Luton),
 56, 61.
 Sheriff's turn, 34.
 Ship-money, 168-179.
 Sibleys of Chiltern Green, 58.
 Smith, Worthington G., 125.
 Someries, 78, 227.
 Someries Castle, 117, 142, 157,
 158, 160-166, 182, 213, 227.
 Someries Chapel in Luton
 Church, 158, 165, 167, 225.
 Someries Place, 158.
 Somery, John de, 159.
 Somery, Roger de, 158, 165.
 Stapleford, 95, 96, 159.
 Stockwood, 215, 223, 224, 236,
 241, 270-273.
 Stockwood, diversion of foot-
 path, 270-273.
 Stopsley manor, 105, 159.
 Straw bonnets, 288.
 Straw hats, 289.

 Tailleboise, Ralph, 229.
 Tinpot Close, 17.
 Towers, The (St Anne's Hill),
 115-117.
 Townsend farm, 75.
 Troops quartered at Someries
 Castle, 183.

Tithing, 25, 30, 34.

Vicar's Balk, 41, 144, 145.
Victorian History of Bedford-
shire, 78, 103, 110, 215.
 View of Frankpledge, 32-35.
 Villeins, free tenants in Luton
 manor, 6, 7.
 Visitations of Bedfordshire, 132.

 Waller the poet, 176, 179.
 Waller, James, 235.
 Jane, 287.
 Thomas, 288.
 Wapentac, 32.
 Wars of the Roses, 47.
 Wells, S. B. (Mrs J. S. Craw-
 ley), 292.
 Wenlock, Lord, 53, 159, 160,
 161.
 Wernker, Sir Julius, 207.
 Winsdon Bottom, 97.
 Wittewrongle of Rothamstead
 Park, 235.
 Wyngheard, 13.
 Wystoke (Westcotts), 55, 57.

 Yeomen of Luton, 5, 7, 8, 74,
 75.
 Yorkists and Lancastrians, 74.

16
9
1250

